UNIVERSITY OF VERMONT

New Republic

NOVEMBER 1, 1948

THE NEW CONFEDERACY

BY HELEN FULLER

★

NO DEAL WITH FRANCO!

AN EDITORIAL

15¢

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"BELIEVE IT OR NOT, HOPE HAS AN INTELLIGENT IDEA!"

says CROSBY

CROSBY:

Folks, this is fantastic, but old Hope has a great idea. He thinks *everybody* ought to give U. S. Savings Bonds for Christmas presents!

HOPE:

Thanks for the kind words, son. But no kidding, ladies and gentlemen, those Bonds are sensational. They're appropriate for *anyone* on your list. On Christmas morning, nothing looks better in a stocking—except maybe Dorothy Lamour.

CROSBY:

Old Ski Nose is correct. And don't forget how easy it is to buy bonds—you can get 'em at *any* bank or post office.

HOPE:

How about it, Mr. and Mrs. America? This Christmas let's *all* give U. S. Savings Bonds!

Give the Finest Gift of all...

U.S. SAVINGS BONDS

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New Republic

EDITOR: Michael Straight
EDITORIAL DIRECTOR: Bruce Bliven
PUBLISHER: Daniel Mebane
ASSOCIATE PUBLISHER: W. D. Patterson

CONTENTS FOR NOV. 1, 1948

5 The Week:
5 The Lonely Fight
5 Showdown in CIO
6 Hard Times for Tammany
6 Stevenson and Douglas
8 No Deal with Franco!
10 The New Confederacy
14 Austria Has Re-Birth Pains
16 The Shame of France
17 Laboratory for Reaction
19 A Communication
20 Left of Center
21 Lerner on Beard: II
24 Books
27 Theatre
28 Radio
30 Movies
31 Correspondence
31 Bandwagon

MANAGING EDITOR: Jack Weeks
CONTRIBUTING EDITORS: Malcolm Cowley, John Farrelly, Joseph P. Lash, Max Lerner, James R. Newman, Willard Shelton, Gus Tyler, J. Raymond Walsh, Harold Wolff
ARTICLES: Norman Grieser (Chief), Myriam Wilson, Percy Winner
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COPY EDITING: Elizabeth Huling (Chief), Ruth Tarcov
RESEARCH: Barbara Greenfeld, Vasiliki Sarant
ADVERTISING MANAGER: E. G. Wood
CIRCULATION MANAGER: Walter F. Grueninger

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WASHINGTON WIRE

A SLIGHT but unmistakable Democratic revival set in during the final days of the campaign, not enough to save Truman but enough to help dozens of border-line Democratic congressmen. Harry's gallant fight was paying off. It seemed as though the public were flinching before its inevitable decision between Truman, the man who can make friends and not influence people, and Dewey, the man who can influence people and not make friends.

We found it so, right on Dewey's own train in the press car: a really rather striking dislike of Dewey. The mechanical smile of the man who always seems to be under television and his bland refusal to deal with issues, have got under everybody's skin. Then there are the contrasting attractiveness and never-say-die spirit of likable little Harry Truman. He deserves well of the nation. In a hopeless battle, he stayed game to the end, and is going down fighting, both popguns smoking.

The most important speech of the campaign was Dewey's at Salt Lake City. He has a lofty conception of a "United States of Europe" and will use ECA funds to stimulate it. He said frankly that he would "prod" Europe with this financial stick, and that foreign aid which doesn't assist this objective is wasted.

If you want to know Dewey's European goal, you must read this speech. Furthermore, it was much stronger in its original form, before editing. Dewey's closest advisers make no secret of it: Dewey intends to act tough, and make ECA funds conditional on the recipients' aiding a unified Europe. Now this is strong medicine. Can a rather ruthless man like Dewey manage to wield the big stick over countries like Britain and France? Will he endanger the very objective for which he is working?

Dewey, the impatient prosecutor, found his sweetness-and-light role hard to take. In the candor of his rear car, he blew off steam in contemptuous references to Truman. Wasn't it harder in politics to defeat a fool, say, than an abler man? All Dewey's instincts were to get in there slugging. This showed again in the press conference which Dewey held in Albany after issuing the 74-word statement on the Vinson-to-Moscow mission. His uncensored private views on Truman were vigorous. From these same surroundings came the ambiguous and alarming phrase that the Politburo is only three votes short of war. No one has yet explained what this means.

Dewey tells visitors who penetrate to his rear car that America has been given the Democratic version of history for the past 16 years; it is now his necessary duty to set the record straight. He intends to educate the masses back to Republicanism. He started off rather unfortunately at Louisville, Kentucky, by taking personal credit for "founding" the nonpartisan US foreign policy, and by charging that ECA was "just another foreign handout" till the Republicans fixed it up. Cordell Hull and the New York *Times's* James Reston dropped on his neck for these extravagant claims.

Senate control is in doubt. Bob Wagner is probably too ill to take his seat again, even to cast his vote from a stretcher in case of a tie. This means the Democrats need a net gain of five rather than four to organize the upper chamber. Again, Democratic candidate Lyndon B. Johnson, Texas, and Robert S. Kerr, Oklahoma, if elected, will be challenged by the GOP for alleged election irregularities. They could be deprived of votes till organization is effected, though this would be unusual.

We still can't understand the importance some people attach to who

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organizes the Senate. If Senators voted along straight party lines, that would mean something, but they don't. Republican conservatives plus reactionary Dixiecrats will vote together on most domestic issues that have any real social significance. Most Democrats will support Dewey if he presents an enlightened foreign policy, as against those very isolationist Republicans whom he's now doing his best to elect.

We have seen the new "World War III" loyalty questionnaire submitted to reporters seeking accreditation to the armed forces, and let us say it's a beauty. The color is pink; it's six pages and three feet long. The Defense Department is now trying to boil it down a foot or so. Among other things, the questionnaire requests all addresses since birth, and all affiliations from the same date. It wants to know any skulduggery you've been up to and also the shady past of parents and relatives-by-marriage—particularly whether they were foreign-born.

That sprightly magazine *Time* had a queer vision of the Vinson mission-to-Moscow incident in its October 18 issue. It charged that Truman insisted on the Vinson trip even after Marshall opposed it and only dropped the plan when Marshall and Undersecretary of State Lovett, "outraged," threatened to resign. Besides the fact that Marshall denies it, this is, to the best of our knowledge, untrue. Truman dropped the thing immediately and automatically when Marshall, his shining hero, vetoed it. What worries us is what happens when big-circulation magazines like *Time* and *Life* tell as facts things which aren't so.

Notes. It's now only a 50-50 bet Dulles gets the State Department. . . . John Crosby, New York *Herald Tribune* radio reviewer: "If there is any difference between a Fulton Lewis comment and any straight party speech by a Dewey supporter, I fail to detect it." The difference, John, is that the GOP gets the first free, has to pay for the second.

Washington T. R. B.

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New Republic

THE WEEK

THE LONELY FIGHT

Whatever showing Truman makes in this election will be in spite of his party. With the exception of Alben Barkley, who has stumped the country with the tireless energy of a man half his age, the leaders in the present administration have been AWOL from the fight against Dewey.

Only the newest member of the Truman cabinet, Secretary of Labor Maurice Tobin, has been worth his salt as a campaigner. Secretary of State Marshall justifiably removed himself from any participation in party activities when he assumed his present position. But Secretary of Defense Forrestal and the civilian aides in his department certainly have stretched a point to claim similar deferment from political duty.

Secretary of the Treasury Snyder has refused to make any campaign speeches at all. Postmaster General Donaldson has no qualifications for the campaign stump. The Secretaries of Agriculture and Commerce, Charles Brannon and Charles Sawyer, are willing but not too able orators. After a few appearances Attorney General Tom Clark proved to be such a liability that he was quietly withdrawn from the hustings. Interior Secretary Krug spent six campaign weeks inspecting dams and duck ponds in out-of-the-way corners of the country.

Other than Barkley himself and Senator Carl Hatch (N. M.), who has run the Democratic Speakers' Bureau in a half-hearted sort of way, the arch-New Dealer Claude Pepper (Fla.) is about the only Democratic Senator who has done any extensive speaking for the ticket. The Democratic Whip in the House, Representative John McCormack (Mass.), has been silent since he failed to receive the vice-presidential nomination at Philadelphia, and House Minority Leader Sam Rayburn relaxed on his Texas farm until the tail end of the campaign.

Truman's supposed mainstay, the staff at Democratic campaign headquarters, actually has been a drawback in many respects. Democratic National Chairman J. Howard McGrath, although a well-meaning man with an excellent New Deal voting record in the Senate, proved himself so incompetent as a campaign manager that, after the Philadelphia convention, President Truman rarely bothered to consult him even on major plans. In every department, with the single exception of the Women's Division, the performance of the technical staff has been much below that of the headquarters personnel in the last three presidential campaigns.

The Democratic state and city machines, having little or no confidence in Truman's ability to win, took themselves out of the national fight at the very beginning to concentrate on electing their own special candidates. In the last weeks of the campaign, however, even the renegade bosses, shamed by labor's all-out support for the President, began to support Truman in earnest. Most of them report that wherever Harry Truman visited in the last few weeks of his barnstorming, he materially helped the party's candidates for the Senate, the House and state and local offices—even where he could not help himself. Local leaders testify that in many spots around the country Truman's visits seem to have produced a new vitality at the roots of the party which may bring results in 1950 or 1952 which they obviously have not produced in this election.

The Democrats' party organization was weaker than its candidate.

Loved by All

PORTLAND (NR correspondent)

ON THE West Coast Earl Warren is still getting bipartisan support. A poll conducted by the Portland *Oregonian* on the vice-presidency alone gave Warren 65 percent of the votes, Barkley 15 percent, Taylor 2 percent, and 18 percent undecided. Fifty-four percent of the Democrats questioned chose Warren, while 27 percent chose Barkley.

SHOWDOWN IN THE CIO

A rule adopted by the CIO at its Atlantic City convention in 1946 is being applied for the first time to discipline the leftist Greater New York Industrial Union Council. The upshot is likely to be a floor fight between the Right and the Left at the Portland CIO convention late in November, with the now-dominant Right upholding any disciplinary measures proposed by the executive board, including suspension of the council's right to speak for the CIO in New York City.

As a curtain-raiser to the fight, the Left and Right fell into physical combat at the CIO offices in Washington when a committee headed by L. S. Buckmaster, president of the United Rubber Workers, held hearings on charges against the New York Council. Three or four scuffles broke out, but nobody's eyes were blackened and the hearing was completed.

Behind it was the steady tightening of anti-leftist discipline which CIO President Philip Murray has imposed following the Left's stubborn insistence on supporting the Wallace campaign.

The Left might secede, if it could, in an effort to build a separate group

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of unions comparable to the drive of the 1920's for a "unity" league. Some leftist groups might seek a home in the AFL. One group of locals in the Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Workers in New York has pulled out of the International only to be threatened with Murray's active opposition if they attempt a strike to force independent recognition.

Buckmaster's committee will make a report, and possibly recommendations, to the executive board on November 17. If the council and some of its officers are ousted, they have a right of appeal to the convention, but they are doomed to defeat unless—after the November 2 election—they can make terms.

The triumph of anti-Communists throughout the CIO, foreshadowed in Walter P. Reuther's overwhelming victory in the United Automobile Workers a year ago, is virtually complete. Murray is fighting, as a matter of principle, against the non-Communist-affidavit sections of the Taft-Hartley Act, but even if the Supreme Court knocks out these sections, Murray's personal opposition to communism will endure.

HARD TIMES FOR TAMMANY

If George Frankenthaler, Republican-Liberal and good-government candidate, is elected Surrogate of New York County in this week's election, he will be the first Republican to hold the office in the county's history. Moreover, his victory will be a major disaster for the New York City Democratic machine.

The Surrogate's Court administers the estates of deceased persons, appointing lawyers and allowing fees totaling well over $1 million annually. The patronage which the Surrogate's office controls probably is greater than the combined amount in the power of half the judges in the US. The loss of this rich source of political influence, coming after GOP conquests of state patronage in Albany and probably of federal patronage in Washington, would reduce Tammany to its leanest pickings in at least a half-century.

And if this happens, it will be the consequence of an elaborate intrigue that went wrong. Last spring, a Tammany faction proposed Supreme Court Judge Valente for the surrogateship. When Mayor O'Dwyer, backing Vincent Impellitteri, president of the City Council, refused to accept Valente or his nephew, Judge Francis Valente, a compromise candidate was chosen—Judge James A. Mullen.

The next problem was to get the support of Vito Marcantonio, US Representative from East Harlem, a dominant figure in the American Labor Party. Up for reëlection, Marcantonio wanted Tammany backing. But he has followed the Communist line, and the local Democratic machine balked. Reportedly, a deal was then suggested: Tammany would refrain from campaigning against Marcantonio if he would withdraw his own candidate for the surrogateship, O. John Rogge, a young, aggressive former New Deal lawyer. Marcantonio refused.

Rogge stayed in the race, O'Dwyer denounced Marcantonio as a Communist, and Marcantonio came back with a public recital of the allegedly proposed deal. Seizing the opportunity, the GOP nominated for Surrogate Frankenthaler, a former Supreme Court judge who, in addition to being a man of known honesty and judgment, has a good labor record.

When the Liberal Party, the anti-Communist right wing of the Labor Party, and good-government factions threw their support to the GOP candidate, some men in Tammany made a last effort to save the surrogateship and its rich political plums. They are reported to have offered both Frankenthaler and Rogge endorsements for the state Supreme Court. Both men refused.

If Frankenthaler wins, there also will be national political implications. It will mean the widening of an open breach between the left-wing forces of the Labor Party and the right wing of the local Democrats, who together, in the past, were able to deliver New York State to Roosevelt and Lehman and New York City to LaGuardia.

STEVENSOI

This is the sixth and last in a special series on critical battles of the 1948 campaign. —THE EDITORS

THE CORNFIELDS of Illinois produce a conservatism that is hard to beat. The few liberals who have done it, men like John Peter Altgeld and Henry Horner, have come from Chicago, where the big-city machine sometimes gives its support to the side that opposes reaction. Downstate liberals have seldom made the grade.

The present campaign is again a fight between downstate and big city, between Republicans and Democrats, between conservatives and liberals. The Democrats are trying to unseat two Republicans, Senator C. Wayland "Curley" Brooks, the isolationist spokesman for the Chicago *Tribune*, and Governor Dwight Green, Colonel McCormick's man in Springfield. As between them and their Democratic opponents, the issues are dazzlingly clear. Paul Douglas, who is running for the Senate, and Adlai Stevenson, the candidate for Governor, stand firmly and openly for the Marshall Plan (which Brooks opposes), for incorruptible government (in contrast to Green's machine operations), for the public control of power and for protection of the rights of labor.

When Stevenson and Douglas were chosen as candidates, cynics sneered that the old Kelly-Nash machine had picked "weak sisters" so that the machine could make a deal with the Republicans in Chicago's mayoralty election of 1950, something that has happened before. If there was any truth in this notion, the vigor of the candidates' campaigns through the state's 102 counties has confounded any such plan.

Stevenson, for instance, has carried on a hard-hitting, strongly worded attack against the Green administration. Cook County Chairman Jack Arvey

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AND DOUGLAS IN ILLINOIS

has been so impressed that he has held meetings to see that all party workers meet Stevenson, whose state-convention speech he had mimeographed and sent to all ward committeemen. In that speech, Stevenson boomed out: "This is a campaign to revive the people's faith in the integrity of democratic government." He said he would not establish a machine because he could not be party boss and Governor at the same time "without subordinating the interests of the state to the fortunes of the party."

Douglas' campaign has also won an excellent response. He has been traveling through the state staging debates with an empty chair which Curley Brooks has refused to occupy. Though neither Douglas nor Stevenson is a stranger to the political wars, this is the first time either has been in a battle of such importance.

Governor Green's campaign against Stevenson is tough and quite characteristic of his methods in office. For example, state liquor investigators are making the rounds of distillers, brewers, liquor dealers and tavern owners, ostensibly to enforce state laws but really to get funds for the Green campaign. This is the sort of thing that was done for political purposes with coal-mine inspectors at the time of the Centralia disaster a year ago last March. Public opinion forced the legislature to outlaw such methods with mine inspectors, but the Green machine is at it again.

From the Wisconsin line to Cairo are large signboards with such slogans as "Continue sound government in Illinois," "A good Governor," "Experienced, efficient, economical." Over the whole of the state, the biggest slush fund in its history is being poured out to win for Green and Brooks. But their Democratic opponents have plenty of campaign ammunition in the record of Green's administration.

Recently William J. Granata was hacked to death in the goriest gangland fashion in Chicago. A Green appointee to the important Industrial Commission, this former associate of the Capone gambling syndicate was typical of the men the Governor had named to office. Also typical are Chicago wardheelers like Frank Peska and William Parrillo, who have replaced such excellent men as Dr. Paul J. Raver of the State Commerce Commission.

Moreover, Stevenson's campaign has been helped by the exposures the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch* has been making of Illinois bribery and payoffs, of lugs and shakedowns, of kickbacks and padded payrolls. The newspaper calculated that in Sangamon County alone some $500,000 yearly was being grafted from commercialized gambling, prostitution and other forms of lawbreaking. The Chicago *Sun-Times* has shown up the highway racket. And the traditionally Republican Chicago *Daily News* has come out for Stevenson.

Stevenson has good political ancestry. His grandfather, also named Adlai, was Vice President during Cleveland's second term. His father was Illinois Secretary of State. His maternal grandfather, Jesse Fell, was one of the organizers of the Republican Party in Illinois and a supporter of Abraham Lincoln.

Stevenson himself entered politics after serving as Special Assistant to Secretary of the Navy Knox during the war and as chief of the US Economic Mission to Italy, for which he won a Distinguished Service medal. At San Francisco he helped write the Charter of the United Nations and served as US delegate to the UN General Assembly in 1946 and '47. He has shown a consistent interest in such matters as civil rights and social welfare. He was the prime organizer and first chairman of the Civil Rights Committee of the Chicago Bar Association. At 48, he is an affable, well-educated man, somewhat given to big words. In campaigning he has developed a capacity for communicating to his audiences both fervor and sincerity.

While Stevenson learned how to call names effectively in this campaign, Douglas knew how before he started running for the Senate. A rugged ex-Marine, 56 years old, he has a rough-hewn face and only a trace of Harvard in his accent. While Professor of Economics at the University of Chicago, he served in the Chicago City Council, where he fought many lone and losing battles for good government. In 1942 he ran unsuccessfully as an insurgent Democrat against the Kelly-Arvey primary candidate for Brooks's Senate seat. During the war he served with the First Marine Division in the invasion of Peleliu. He was seriously wounded on Okinawa.

One measure of Douglas' position is the enemies he has made. The local Progressive Party calls him a "reactionary in disguise." The Republicans call him a Communist.

Both Douglas and Stevenson, as liberals, would have a tough fight any time in Illinois. In a Republican year the fight is twice as hard.

STEVENSON

DOUGLAS

DRAWINGS BY FRASCONI

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NO DEAL WITH FRANCO!

by Michael Straight

ONE DAY in the winter of 1946 a Loyalist leader crossed the Spanish frontier. In a village in the Pyrenees he was greeted with warmth and honor by a group of Spanish generals. Together they planned the overthrow of Franco. They agreed to meet again when the plans were completed.

A few days before the second meeting the Loyalist received a message from the generals. The meeting was canceled. The plans were called off. America had announced the Truman Doctrine: Franco was reprieved.

Now Spain is again on the agenda of the United Nations Assembly. And again the democratic forces of Europe have been shaken, and the growing unity of Spanish exiles shattered, by the news that America will give aid and comfort to Spanish fascism.

Our government makes no denial that the government of Spain is fascist. "Its fascist origins, nature and policies," our delegate, Senator Connally, told the UN Assembly, "are completely alien to our way of life." We are committed to preserving our way of life. And we are committed many times over to work for democracy in Spain. We voted for the 1946 resolution of the UN which attacked "the Franco fascist government . . . imposed by force on the Spanish people with the aid of the Axis powers."

That resolution, greatly weakened in order to secure a two-thirds vote, stands in full force today. It recommended the recall of ambassadors from Madrid, the barring of Franco Spain from all UN agencies, and, if these actions failed to establish representative government in Spain, consideration of "adequate measures" by the Security Council.

The first two actions were inadequate, of course. "Adequate measures" were blocked by America and Britain. Then Franco's counter-offensive began. Peron, who alone defied the UN resolution from the start, lobbied throughout Latin America to kill the resolution this year. Now Peron is leading his parade on Paris, dragging the United States behind him. It was the US Secretary of State who presented Peron's demands to Britain and France, issuing a lame disclaimer when they were turned down. The United States is not anxious to lead in the public embrace of Franco. But it is anxious that Franco should be embraced; to follow Peron meekly suits our new strategy well.

It is a dangerous strategy that we are pursuing in denouncing the 1946 resolution. It is true that the recall of ambassadors did not greatly hurt Franco. It is also true that the return of the ambassadors must greatly help him. Our reason for voting for their return is to bring the UN into relation with reality—the reality that the ambassadors of Argentina, the Dominican Republic and Peru now grace Madrid. Are these three nations to decide for America and for the UN what is and what should be?

Franco is a great dividing line for democracy in Latin America. Until now, in deference to American opinion, Latin American oligarchies have worn the disguise of democracy. If we give our open endorsement to Franco, the disguise may be safely discarded. The quest for democracy will continue, led by men without American inspiration.

America intends also to vote to admit Spain into the specialized agencies of the UN. Our reason is that these agencies are technical and that the regulation of health, aviation and postal rates is useless if it is not universal. Actually Franco has ratified many of the agreements made by the international agencies. Once given access to their membership, why should he be denied access to membership in their supervisory body, the Economic and Social Council? Why should he not join UNESCO to veto the spread of the culture of freedom and to advance his fascist philosophy? Why should he be barred from the UN? It contains many dictators who were discreet enough not to write love letters to Hitler.

The United Nations is a political, not a judicial, body. Its precedents carry little weight. Only the Charter is unchanging. Its members are free to reverse their stands. And yet if its laws are valid, basic principles must stand.

If our basic principle of working for democracy in Spain still stands, then our new tactic of working through Franco is valid on one assumption only: that the Franco regime can evolve into a democracy. Franco expressed his own appraisal of this assumption six weeks ago, when he reaffirmed the old fascist exception: that the commandment, love thy neighbor, does not apply to Jews.

In fact, Franco's state is forbidden to evolve into a democracy. "Our state will be a totalitarian instrument," says Article 6 of the statutes of the Falange, of which Franco is the Supreme Leader, "responsible only before God and history." "The system of political parties," the statute continues, "will be implacably abolished with all that flows from them—inorganic suffrage, representation by conflicting parties, and parliaments of the familiar type." Freedom of speech, of assembly, of worship, of education and of the press, are expressly forbidden in Spain. They are not only crimes against the State but sins against the state religion. Church and State in Spain are one, and the standard catechism of the Church defines as "pernicious freedoms," "freedom of education, freedom of propaganda and freedom of assembly."

Franco's one measure to legalize his rule, his Law of Succession of 1947, was modeled on Hitler's law of 1934. It perpetuates his absolute dictatorship and forbids the transfer of his power to a representative government.

The truth is that we are no longer working for democracy in Spain. We are accepting Franco. Confronted by the hatred of Franco which dominates all Europe, including Europe's Catholics in the Christian trade unions and the MRP, it suits America's purpose to move slowly. We are keeping in the darkness of Peron's shadow, until Secretary Marshall persuades the Pope to enlighten the faithful in Europe, and to smooth the rough edges of fascism with the

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aid of the Spanish hierarchy, while the peoples of America, France and Britain are conditioned to accept this betrayal. Yet the decision is made and the direction is clear. American diplomacy is being driven down Franco's road—to a dead end.

Our drivers, in diplomacy, are no longer the conservative civilians of the State Department, who even now are referred to as "Communists" by brash Army officers and reactionary politicians.

It was an Army plane which flew Senator Chan Gurney, chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee, on a conducted tour of Europe, under the watchful eyes of his advisers, Major General W. B. Persons of the Army, Major General Bryant Boatner of the Air Force, and Rear Admiral Wooldridge.

Gurney returned with a new foreign policy for America. It includes revising our attitude of support for Israel; replacing ERP aid with military supplies; a military alliance against Russia which includes Franco; and full partnership for Franco in all American programs for Europe.

This policy is the product of the military mind, which, once allowed to rule, destroys the purpose for which democracies fight in pursuit of the objective of military victory. Once again the military is attempting to dictate the foreign policy of the United States.

This excessive ambition of a necessary but specialized caste is the oldest problem of democracy. It enslaved Latin America and half of Europe. It led Germany to ruthlessness and destruction. It has perplexed and weakened France from Napoleon to de Gaulle. It endangered Lloyd George, threatened Lincoln, harassed Roosevelt and has nearly overwhelmed Truman. It is an urgent problem as we move again across the rim of war.

For, in Spain, as in Germany, the military concept of our foreign policy is in direct conflict with our national interest.

America is now engaged in the building of a Western Union in Europe. Her purpose is not to prepare for war but to prevent war by the creation of a self-governing and self-reliant region between Russia and America. The Senate has endorsed it. Truman supports it. Dewey has made it the first objective of his foreign policy. Its welfare requires ERP supplies. Its security requires American guarantees for its military defense.

These guarantees have been given—with what sincerity? Evidently the sincerity of a commander who instructs his scouts to make contact with the enemy and quickly retreat. The geopoliticians of the Army now seem to assume that the land mass—their beloved phrase—between the North Sea, the Rhine and the Pyrenees is almost indefensible; that France is finished as a power and will not fight again; that Africa will be defended and the Mediterranean held from three beachheads—Britain, Spain and Greece. Western Europe, though we may arm it as a commander arms his scouts, is a lost cause by geopolitical logic, physically indefensible, Communist-corrupted, strike-ridden, bedeviled by falling birth rates, at best the dismal scene of a delaying action fought to trade dear life and land for abstract time.

Perhaps our military diplomats hope to have both Franco and the Western Union. In that case, these geopoliticians are terribly mistaken. They forget, or dismiss as unimportant, the fact that the Western Union was founded at Brussels "to preserve the principle of democracy, personal freedom, and political liberty." Beyond this, Europe is too weary of war to be sacrificed again in a delaying action to hold the Pyrenees. And Europe is too delicately balanced between democracy and communism to be saved for America if democracy is corrupted any further by an alliance with fascism. It is the Western Union *or* Spain; democracy *or* fascism; not both.

"If there is one sentiment," warns the *New Statesman and Nation,* "which unites the British working class, it is a detestation of Franco." "If Spain comes into ERP," said Léon Jouhaux when he learned of Gurney's new alliance, "then France goes out." Our military geopoliticians, thinking of strategy always in military terms, may disregard these minor political considerations as they disregarded certain minor failings of Darlan and Badoglio. If at their narrow-minded, impatient dictation we abandon the political struggle of Europe, discount its considerable strength and subordinate its striving for security to the specious safety of the Pyrenees, then France will be lost to us and the Western Union will be stillborn. We shall be the masters of mines without miners, fields without farmers, oceans without fishermen. And ultimately mines, fields and oceans all will be lost to us.

And what will be gained? A nation, in Franco Spain, whose production is falling, whose army is corrupted, whose railroads are in chaos, whose children are half-starved while black markets flourish; a great crusader against communism who, after killing a million of his countrymen and holding absolute power for a decade, bequeaths to his nation all the classic conditions of misery, feudalism and oppression on which communism climbs to power.

Franco did not enter the war solely because Hitler lacked the resources to prop up his prostrate economy. And now, when Constantine Brown assures us of Spain's loyalty in the Holy war, he is quickly rebuked. "We uphold our attitude of neutrality in the conflict between Moscow and Washington," says the newspaper *ABC* of Madrid. "Our wishful colleague should not go too far."

There is a clear and pressing need for Dewey and Truman to repudiate this amoral military strategy of alignment with fascism and to reaffirm our liberal policy toward Spain. It can only be to strengthen our 1946 stand by setting a timetable with collective sanctions, first diplomatic, then economic, for the overthrow of Franco. The way to peace is to promote democracy. The way to victory, if war becomes certain, is still to promote democracy. We cannot give up all peace efforts to prepare for war. We cannot prepare for war against the world. Fascism has no mass support across the world. Neither does an America allied with fascists.

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THE NEW CONFEDERACY

With the torch of race prejudice a band of primitive zealots, practical politicians and businessmen are kindling revolt

by Helen Fuller

THE SOUTHERN STATES are aflame with a new rebellion. This one is aimed at winning, by political means, some of the objectives lost in the four years after Fort Sumter.

The present uprising in the South is no casual revolt intended merely to influence the outcome of a single election. The master planners of the Dixiecrat rebellion have a carefully laid scheme for taking over the whole Democratic Party between now and 1952. A major realignment of American political parties is the primary objective. The defeat of Truman is secondary.

On November 2 they will have taken a long stride toward attainment of their goal. The State's Rights ticket seems certain to carry four states of the Solid South (Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana and South Carolina) and is very likely to win a fifth (Georgia) if the decision there goes to the state legislature for lack of a clear majority. In addition, the Dixiecrats probably will take enough votes away from the regular Democratic ticket to give Dewey a good chance to beat Truman in three or four more states. The serious Dixiecrat leaders are more interested in the future than the present. They see themselves, after the election, a vigorous, unified bloc in the midst of a shattered national party. They feel sure of being in the vast majority on the Democratic side of Congress, in a position to demand restoration of the two-thirds rule at the next convention, to dictate the 1952 platform, and at the least, to obtain the vice-presidency for one of their number. Even failing this, they can see themselves wielding for years to come the balance of power in national elections by keeping tight control over the electors from the Solid South states and voting them as a unit.

The 1948 Dixiecrat movement from which these dreams have sprung is composed of four main elements: a large body of sincere, misguided Southerners who truly believe that their present system of segregation is the best for all concerned and who deeply resent what they consider "outside interference" by the federal government to force changes in their way of life; self-seeking politicians who are exploiting this basic attitude to advance their own careers; a handful of flaming State's Rights zealots who conceive of this as a great crusade to defend "the Southern culture"; and Northern Republicans who are aggravating the situation to aid the GOP cause in this election. These four have come together in surprising harmony; if they are left unhampered, their dreams might become reality.

Southern Democrats have not been happy in the party since they came back to it in 1880. No Southerner has been nominated for President since the Civil War. In 1936, Franklin Roosevelt stripped the Southern politicos of their last vestige of party power by forcing abolition of the two-thirds rule in nominating conventions. Ever since, the remaining bourbons have been plotting an attempt to turn the tables. In 1936, in 1940, and again in 1944, there was talk of a "Southern revolt" against the Democratic Party. But the backward-looking leaders of the South did not have a truly popular issue on which to build until Truman last spring proposed the civil-rights program to Congress. With it as a torch, they have gone a long way in a few months toward rekindling the wild, regional spirit which made the Civil War possible.

The 1948 Dixiecrat revolt actually began in 1944. In that campaign, Northern Republicans bent on blocking the fourth term supplied the backing for Roosevelt-haters in the South to organize a national Byrd-for-President Committee and anti-Roosevelt organizations in most of the Southern states. The men who organized and paid for this "revolt" are in the forefront of the Dixiecrat movement today.

Early in 1943, Governors Sam Jones of Louisiana and Frank Dixon of Alabama invited the Conference of Southern Governors to join them in the formation of a new Southern Democratic Party, dedicated to "State's Rights and White Supremacy." Neither the Governors nor other more practical-minded politicians dared to fly in the face of a Roosevelt Administration that would be in control of federal patronage for four more years.

But another group, made up of non-officeholders, had no such practical considerations to stop them. Early in 1944, John U. Barr, a fiber-rope manufacturer of New Orleans and vice-chairman of the Southern States' Industrial Council, launched the Byrd-for-President Committee with a group of anti-Roosevelt businessmen. Later they combined forces with the American Democratic National Committee,

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which was designed to win independent voters away from the fourth-term ticket. This ADNC was led nationally by a former Secretary of War, Harry Woodring of Kansas; several isolationist ex-Senators and Representatives, such as James Reed of Missouri and John J. O'Connor of New York; lobbyist Ralph Moore of Texas (now under indictment for violation of the Lobby Registration Act); and Robert M. Harriss, a New York cotton broker and financial adviser to Father Coughlin. Although the ADNC attracted few besides fanatical anti-New Dealers, it did serve as a front organization for financing the "revolt" in the South.

Official figures reported in the Senate investigation of the ADNC conducted after the election showed a total income of $128,465, of which about $90,000 was estimated to have come from 40 Republican contributors.

More than this amount undoubtedly was spent in Texas alone on the "revolt." The Texas "Regulars," *i.e.*, reactionaries, captured control of the Democratic state convention and of the delegation to the Democratic National Convention. Had other Southern states been as militant, there might have been some chance of applying the bold "Texas formula" devised to steal the Electoral College. The idea was simple: to reaffirm the right of an elector, under the Constitution, "to vote in the Electoral College for a person whom he thinks will protect the interests of his state rather than for a person nominated at a national party convention whom he thinks would be hostile to them."

The language is that of a scholarly son of the old Confederacy, Charles Wallace Collins, a constitutional lawyer then practising in Washington, D. C., who had been in correspondence with Gibson and leading anti-New Dealers. It was Collins who formalized the plot in a brochure widely distributed in the South. Taking his stand on the proposition that "The doctrine of States' Rights is no mere shibboleth; it is a constitutional doctrine basic to our form of government," he argued that "The Texas formula is constitutionally sound, is practical, and is in accord with the intentions of the founding fathers. The elector is an officer of his State. He is the legal representative of his State in the Electoral College. His legal and his moral obligation is to his State which is just as much bound by his action in the college as it is by the action of its legislators. . . . Texas has shown the way out . . . the seizure of a weapon, provided by the Constitution, in a fight to save its vital institutions from threatened destruction."

But the anti-Roosevelt campaigns elsewhere were more modest than that in Texas. There was plenty of potential financial backing available. The money and the zeal were there, but not the public support nor the professional political talent essential for winning elections. The wisest of the Southern plotters knew that the campaign for Byrd and all the rest of it were just a warm-up. In their correspondence they spoke of the necessary preparations to be ready when history took a turn in their direction.

The day after Roosevelt was elected to his fourth term, Collins retired from active practice. The dapper little white-haired lawyer settled down in his Washington Press Building office to write a book stating the case for a return to the rule of the South by a small minority of well-to-do whites, qualified by "superior birth and intelligence" to decide what is best for everyone. *Whither Solid South?*, published by the obscure Pelican Press of New Orleans, appeared last December, just as the more foresighted of the Southern Republocrats were beginning to think about what kind of "revolt" they should plan for 1948.

Collins admits fancying himself as the John C. Calhoun of a new Secession. In his book, he dwells at length on the historical and ethnic bases of white supremacy, the illegality of the Fourteenth Amendment, the moral and religious case for continuing segregation, and winds up with a proposal of a forty-ninth state in Africa. In between are sandwiched chapters which provide the intellectual basis of this year's Dixiecrat revolt.

"For the first time in the history of the country," Collins writes, "the South finds itself without political allies North of the Mason-Dixon line . . . a most untenable position. How can she extricate herself with honor from this predicament?" She cannot continue to rely upon the filibuster—"a dangerous support." "There are two other weapons of respectability available," according to Collins. A new two-party alignment is the best, most clean-cut. "The conversion of the present Republican-Southern Democratic

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coalition into a new conservative political party" is entirely logical. The conservatives in both parties could combine harmoniously into what would be the strongest party in the country "*provided* the issue of Negro equality was left to the sponsorship of [a new] Liberal Party. . . . In 1878 Republican leaders agreed to regard the Negro question in the South as a problem to be handled by the Southern region. A similar attitude by Northern conservatives today could pave the way for a North-South coalition which could save the United States from Statism."

If this first proposal proves too idealistic, the Solid South, Collins says, "can leave the Democratic Party . . . can set up its own Democratic Party and stand independently of the North in the Electoral College, in the House of Representatives, and in the Senate."

A second-rate book by an unknown author became the "Mein Kampf" of a new movement because it appeared at the strategic moment.

Senator James Eastland (D, Miss.), the first politician to see the book's possibilities, rushed with it to Fielding Wright, who had just been elected Governor of Eastland's state. When it came time to deliver the inaugural address, the voice was that of the Governor of Mississippi but the thoughts came from *Whither Solid South?*

Soon Collins forgot he was retired. Eastland took him into conference with Governor Wright to plan the next steps. Copies of the book were sent to 300 key men. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina, Frank Dixon of Alabama, Merritt Gibson of Texas, John U. Barr of Louisiana, Roy Harris of Georgia, and Ed Crump of Tennessee were on the original mailing list.

When Truman called on Congress to enact into law the civil-rights program which his special committee had recommended, the Southern reactionaries were fully prepared to take every advantage of his action. The Dixiecrat "revolt" was thrown into high gear. Most of the Southern press and radio needed little encouragement. The bogeyman of "outside interference" was played up. Fielding Wright called on all the other Southern Governors to join him in formal protest against Truman's proposed program. This time the Southern Governors eagerly agreed. Walkouts from the Philadelphia convention, and a Southern Democratic convention in Birmingham launching the Strom Thurmond-Fielding Wright State's Rights ticket were easy steps.

Opportunists of every kind have flocked to the banner of the new Confederacy. There is a well-furnished Dixiecrat headquarters in the best hotel in every good-sized Southern town. Junior Leaguers and well-groomed matrons volunteer as office help. Even important politicians wear their "Vote-for-Thurmond-and-Wright" buttons right out in the open, not inside their lapels, where their Byrd-for-President buttons were concealed four years ago. The best people in town, along with the worst, flock to the $25-per-plate dinners, the $5 admission picnics and the auction box suppers that local Dixiecrat clubs are holding all over the South. Pretty young girls do a good business selling "Thurmond-Wright-State's Rights" buttons for $1 each on busy street corners. The daughters of a steel-company president and the president of Coca-Cola are leading saleswomen in Birmingham, Alabama.

The Dixiecrat movement is popular as the anti-Roosevelt campaigns never were. There is no fear of losing patronage, since no one believes Truman will be elected anyway. And the Republicans are more than ever interested in what the South does this year when power seems so near at hand.

From the list of supporters of the Dixiecrat cause throughout the South, it appears that all the Republican Party's good contacts have been put to use. State by state, local representatives of powerful Northern corporations are among the leading state's-righters. The Houston lawyer, Palmer Bradley, who first headed the Dixiecrat movement in Texas, has the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey and the Hughes Tool Company (spokesman in Texas for the National Association of Manufacturers) for clients. Roy Cullen, the Republican oil man who contributed heavily to the fight against Roosevelt in 1944, is reported to be pumping funds freely into the State's Rights campaign against Truman this year. But pseudo-Democrats like Jesse Jones and former Governer Coke Stevenson, who were so important a part of the revolt from inside the Democratic Party in '44, are taking a new tack, as yet unique to Texas. They have gone over openly to the Republican Party.

The spearhead of the Dixiecrat organization in Alabama, Gessner McCorvey, of Mobile, is Standard Oil's lawyer too. He also represents Humble Oil (Standard subsidiary), Gulf Oil and Magnolia Petroleum. And Tennessee Coal and Iron (United States Steel), the industrial giant of the state, retains him to look after its interests in Alabama. Marion Rushton, state chairman of the Alabama Dixiecrats, has as clients of his Montgomery law firm, the Chase National Bank, the Buckeye Cotton Oil and the Capital Fertilizer companies. Former Governor Frank Dixon, the big brain of the Alabama revolters, is attorney for the Associated Industries of Alabama and the NAM's official representative in

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the state. It is through him and other Dixiecrat lawyers in Birmingham that contact is maintained with statewide representatives of the Alabama Power Company (Commonwealth and Southern).

In South Carolina, lawyers for the South Carolina Power Company (Judge Eugene Blease) and the South Carolina Cotton Manufacturers' Association (T. Frank Watkins) were among the principal architects of the movement.

Officials of the Mississippi Power and Light Company (Electric Power and Light) have given generously. The initial $5,000 to cover expenses of the Jackson rally May 10 to launch the Southwide movement was contributed by a representative of that company. George Godwin, head of the Dixie Advertising Agency of Jackson which handles the Mississippi Power account, has been detailed as public-relations adviser and ghost writer for vice-presidential candidate Wright. Officials of the National Cotton Council, the NAM of the plantation South, were key figures from the first in launching Mississippi's revolt.

Many of the good "Democrats" of Louisiana who made contributions through John U. Barr, the New Orleans rope magnate, to the Byrd drive are opposing the national Democratic Administration again this year. The letterhead of the New Orleans State's Rights Committee lists the head of the New Orleans telephone company, the local Coca-Cola Company, the spokesman of the Shipowners' Association, and a string of small businessmen. J. J. Kramer, who was secretary of the Byrd group, is still doing business at the same stand. Barr has dug into his own pocket to cover his own and Kramer's expenses. Under the banner of the Constitutional Democracy Crusaders, they have tirelessly toured the country these last four years sowing their reactionary seeds. Barr has such a possessive feeling about the anti-New Deal movement in Louisiana that he prefers to foot the bills rather than share the consequent publicity with other contributors.

DRAWINGS BY JOHN GROTH

But Barr's activities are only sideshow stuff. The two real powers behind the Dixiecrats in Louisiana are W. H. Talbot, the duly elected Democratic National Committeeman, and Leander Perez, the generally acknowledged boss of present-day Louisiana politics and the man behind Earl Long.

The professional politicians who are running the Dixiecrats have carefully followed Collins' advice to take over the existing Democratic Party organization as a first step toward their goal. Here Mississippi led the way. Early last February, the State Democratic Committee voted to make the state's electors "free agents" and consigned the party machinery to 100-percent Dixiecrat hands. Alabama and South Carolina quickly followed Mississippi's lead. Louisiana came along as soon as the new Governor Earl Long and Leander Perez thought it safe to do so.

Today, in five states of the old Confederacy, including Georgia, where incoming Governor Herman Talmadge is secretly in league with the State's Rights Party, the Dixiecrats have taken over the Democratic Party. In Florida, Arkansas, Texas, Virginia and North Carolina, the State's-Righters are exerting every effort to hold their lines firm until there can be a new counting of noses after this election. Money and speakers are being sent into seemingly unpromising territory as an investment for the future. Although the Gallup Poll shows Truman leading in Texas, with 61 percent of the vote to Dewey's 23 percent and Thurmond's tiny eight percent, State's Rights headquarters is booking a full complement of Dixiecrat big shots, including Fielding Wright, Dixon, Eastland, Governor Laney of Arkansas and former Governor Jones of Louisiana, into the Lone Star state for a strenuous week of barbecues and rallies. They are already campaigning for 1952.

As these five men ride across Texas they will undoubtedly be discussing the basic questions of organization now facing the State's Rights movement. They, and perhaps half a dozen other key Dixiecrats, must decide reasonably soon whether their movement is to continue as a means of boring from within the Democratic Party or is to become the kind of independent Southern regional party Collins' book advocates.

Conversations with Dixiecrat leaders indicate that, whichever course is chosen, the Southerners will push for the elimination of the national party convention. The State's-Righters make a big point of the thesis that the convention method of choosing candidates is a comparatively new-fangled one, never visualized by the founding fathers. In the next presidential cam-

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paign year, the dissident Southerners might do one of several things:

A regional convention of a Southern Democratic Party might be held to nominate candidates for President and Vice President, and to adopt a party platform. If no candidate received a majority of the electoral votes in November, the selection of a President and Vice President would go to the House, where the South would have the balance of power.

A separate Southern Democratic Party might hold a convention to nominate candidates. Then the present limitations on popular instruction of the electors might be extended even further by creating an electoral commission to appoint the electors, instead of selection by general ballot.

Laws making the above change in the method of choosing electors could be passed as a protective device, and used only if the national Democratic Party named a candidate distasteful to the Southerners.

Or, the Dixiecrats could decide to take their chances inside the Democratic Party for four more years at least. Having already captured so many of the regular party organizations in the South, they could decide to exhaust that method before trying another.

The chances are that the last alternative will be the choice for the immediate future. The Dixiecrats who today double as Democratic Party chiefs in their various states do not want to vacate, unless it is absolutely necessary, the comfortable berths they have held for so long. These "ins" are urging that the Southerners band together into a tight organization in Congress and in the Democratic National Committee to dominate the party on Capitol Hill, to push for restoration of the two-thirds rule which used to give the South a power of veto, and to obtain an acceptable platform plus a State's Rights man for Vice President in 1952. If this plot should fail, there would still be time, the gradualists among the Dixiecrats argue, either to build a new party of their own or to negotiate for an alliance with the Republican conservatives.

AUSTRIA HAS RE-BIRTH PAINS

With the approach of real statehood, the coalition which has ruled in Vienna for three years shows signs of crumbling

by Alexander Kendrick

VIENNA

FOR THE FIRST TIME in many years, Austria has become a state, instead of just a state of mind, and an Austrian national identity is replacing the former southeast German provincialism. The Austrians' desire is growing for independence and for an end to the situation that began with Mussolini, continued with Hitler, and still endures, although decreasingly so, with four-power occupation.

The practical problems of independence are piling up as natural economic and political forces come into play again after their long suspension, first by Anschluss, then by war, and finally by occupation. One of the reasons is that the occupation grip has gradually lessened this year. The Allied Control Council has virtually stopped controlling, the Austrian government has begun to govern as well as administer, and what has for three years been apparently the strongest and most stable political coalition in Europe has at last been confronted by reality.

The government combination of Socialists and Volkspartei (Catholic People's Party) is at serious odds within itself. Both the Socialists and the Volkspartei are suffering from grave internal dissension. The despised Communists are gaining in effectiveness, if not in actual strength, and neo-Nazism is stirring ominously.

It was a strange coalition from the beginning, made up of the Socialists who had been blasted, bombarded and interned out of legal existence in 1934, and of the inheritors of the clerical reaction that had done the blasting. It brought together the traditionally progressive Vienna and the traditionally conservative Länder; the city consumer and the hostile peasant producer; the factory worker and the wealthy industrialist who employed him. Indeed, it was a coalition at all only on the professed basis of anti-communism. And even this did not make much sense since the 49-percent Volkspartei vote was added to the 46-percent Socialist vote, to ward off the threat of the 5-percent Communist minority. Actually the object of the coalition was to prevent the Communists from exploiting the balance of power.

Now it has been discovered that anti-communism is not enough, that it doesn't solve much. Questions of prices and wages, of inflation and deflation, of state controls v. "private enterprise," have caused wider and wider ripples in the stagnant coalition pool. The Socialists have learned, as have Socialists in other government coalitions, that too much coöperation with the Right invariably causes rumbling on the Left.

The first sign of the present split between the Socialists and the Volkspartei came a few months ago. The Socialist left wing, led by a young intellectual named Erwin Scharf, began demanding a return to revolutionary socialism instead of the Fabianism of the party's Old Guard, Julius Deutsch, Vice-Chancellor Adolf Schaerf and Oscar Pollak. The dissidents were not for complete unity of action with the Communists, but their slogan was: "The antagonist is on the Left; the enemy is on the Right." Their revolt was temporarily halted when the Old Guard practically read them out of the party, but they have not given up.

After the Scharf rebellion, economics entered the coalition picture. The Socialists were committed to a program of deflation, and sought to beat prices down. The Volkspartei, with its amalgam of peasants and manufacturers, chose the opposite path of higher farm and industrial prices. Despite these

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differences, the parties had agreed last year to "hold the line," freezing both wages and prices. As usual in such cases, wages remained fixed but prices rose, and only government control prevented runaway inflation.

By the end of summer the gap between wages and prices was 20 percent, and the trade unions, though Socialist-controlled, clamored for wage increases. Communist pressure multiplied Socialist woes, for the Communists demanded a 25-percent increase and Soviet-operated factories in the Russian occupation zone actually granted that figure. The Trade Union Federation's executive council voted down a proposal to seek 25 percent, however, and after a flurry of unimportant Communist-led strikes, the government and the trade unions negotiated a 6-percent general increase, which became effective October 3.

The Communists got a good deal of the credit for the wage increase, while the Socialists remain under fire from their rank and file for failing to do better. The Communists also profited from the fact that the wage agreement provides for the removal of government subsidies on milk, meat and other farm products. Even though workers received an additional cost-of-living allowance, it is not enough to compensate for the higher food prices. The 20-percent gap is at best one-quarter filled.

The removal of the subsidies was the price demanded by the Volkspartei for agreeing to the wage increase, but it was also the result of American influence. The local ECA offices, headed by another Dillon, Read partner, refused to allow the Austrians to pay any more subsidies from the blocked-schilling account set up under ECA rules. Now Volkspartei leaders, encouraged by their American friends, are campaigning for the ending of all rationing and controls, although Austria is still a good long way from recovery. Julius Raab, head of the *Wirtschaftbund,* or Economic League, and the most influential man in the party, makes speeches daily on the theme, familiar in America, that rationing and controls cause high prices.

With the Socialist-Volkspartei difference clearly defined along these lines, the latest development has been the appearance of a would-be fourth party in Austria. It calls itself the Austrian Democratic Union, and its appeal is to "middle of the road" elements who want neither "rash experimentation" nor clericalism. The new party would capture an estimated 20 percent of the Volkspartei membership and thus would make the Socialists the strongest single party. It would also probably result in a Socialist-Democratic coalition, with the Volkspartei out.

When the new party applied to the Allied Council for recognition, it was opposed by the American and British representatives, who do not wish to disturb the present balance. It was supported by the Russians, who favor anything, no matter how bourgeois, that weakens the Volkspartei, and also by the French, who would like to help the Socialists. But a new party would not be clear gain for the Socialists. Once it is recognized, as it will be eventually, the way is paved for other splinter groups which until now have been barred by the Allied Council. The first of these will undoubtedly be a left-wing Socialist splinter, led by Erwin Scharf.

Meanwhile, the Volkspartei is having internal complications of its own. Raab, the party's Warwick, is attempting to replace Chancellor Leopold Figl with someone more amenable to the "full free enterprise" theory and has selected Ferdinand Graf, Interior Secretary. Graf is reportedly backed also by Foreign Minister Karl Gruber and the latter's American advisers.

Thus even before its formal appearance in the political arena, the new party has driven the Volkspartei to the Right, and that in turn has led to an open revival of the Dollfuss-Starhemberg-Schuschnigg spirit in the provinces. More and more neo-Nazi organizations are springing up in one guise or another. The government has had to dissolve the "Organization of Austrians Faithful to the Constitution," which was linked to the recent Nazi trials at Graz, in the British occupation zone. Such newspapers as the *Alpenländischer Heimatruf,* published in Graz in the British zone, and *Der Blick* are so openly Nazi that they have had to be banned several times by one or another occupation authority.

All of these changes have taken place in Austria within a very few months. Some of them are no doubt due to the fact that elections, the first since 1945, are to be held within the coming twelvemonth. About 1,250,000 more voters will take part than in 1945, including returned war prisoners and the "denazified," who have now been reënfranchised. But even without the approaching elections, it is evident that Austria is going through a post-war phase that has thus far been held in abeyance by the occupation. Most Austrians think it is a healthy, or in any case an inevitable, phase. The State Department and ECA Administrator Hoffman may not think so.

DRAWING BY JEROME SNYDER

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THE SHAME OF FRANCE

Petain's infamy is compounded in vengeful acts, both blind and calculated, in which a soldier and a priest pay

by Percy Winner

PARIS

FATHER Raymond-Léopold Bruckberger is a Dominican with a record of heroic patriotic service to France. In 1940 he was seriously wounded in battle. He escaped from a German prison and helped create the Resistance movement, with which he worked actively until the end of the war. For a while he was a political internee. Then he became chaplain-in-chief to the Resistance. In this capacity he gave the last rites of the Church to hundreds if not thousands of Frenchmen. Throughout this period he was in the forefront of those patriots who vigorously opposed Marshal Henri Philippe Pétain and his collaborationists of Vichy.

Father Bruckberger showed courage not only on the battlefield and in the Maquis. He vigorously protested to Cardinal Suhard when that prelate welcomed both General Charles de-Gaulle, then leader of the Resistance, and Marshal Pétain in a fashion that seemed to put the two men on an equal plane. After the liberation of France, he publicly opposed the activities of those Frenchmen who sought to whitewash Pétain. During the same period, however, he gave the last rites to Frenchmen condemned to death for collaboration, and worked hard to reduce the penalties meted out to men who, in working with the Germans, had merely been obeying the orders of their French superiors, men such as Pétain.

In 1947 he founded a magazine, the *Cheval de Troie* (Trojan Horse), which became the organ of Catholic liberals and of internationally famous writers who believed both in progress and in giving a sound moral basis to the struggle of the civilization of the West against Eastern communism. Early in 1948 he started a personal campaign to obtain clemency for Jean Bassompierre, an aide of the collaborationist leader Joseph Darnand who had been condemned to death. In this effort he was echoing the sentiments of such important Resistance leaders as Henri d'Astier de la Vigerie. The arguments in favor of changing the penalty from death to imprisonment were that Bassompierre had been a heroic soldier of France in 1939 and 1940, that he had merely obeyed the orders of Pétain, and in a fashion that separated him from the really evil men of the collaboration. Moreover, many other men condemned to death had had their sentences commuted to imprisonment.

On April 19, 1948, Father Bruckberger wrote an article in the Parisian newspaper, *L'Intransigéant*, in a last effort to save Bassompierre. On that same day, he wrote a letter to the President of the French Republic, offering his own life in place of Bassompierre's. The newspaper article began with these paragraphs:

> If it happens that a little girl of twelve years is raped in a forest, all the rest of her internal life and of her conduct will be scarred by this horrible experience. Even if she is totally innocent of blame, even if she is the victim of an ambush, this experience will forever afterward weigh on her conscience. But the evil is irreparable if the child, humiliated to the bottom of her soul, in tears, with torn clothes, returns home and hears her mother say with abject tenderness, "My child, that's nothing. That's merely the way life is, and to prove it to you I will do the same thing in front of you and in front of everyone, with no matter whom, and with honor and dignity."

This is what Pétain did. The defeat of 1940 was the most sinister event that had ever weighed on the French conscience; it brought about the renunciation of that conscience, its derision and desolation. Perhaps that conscience might still have been restored and cleansed; that would have required facing up to the shame. But Pétain consecrated this shame in history. The armistice and the shaking of Hitler's hand at Montoire were the abomination of this desolation. It was not only the rape of France on her own soil and in her own flesh; it was the acceptance and the justification of this rape, the infamous enjoyment of the rape.

At the very time when Father Bruckberger was making his last-hour effort to save a man who had been his comrade in arms in 1940, a committee of conservatives, of "men of order," was reaching the climax of a campaign to bring about the liberation of Marshal Pétain, the head of the wartime Vichy regime. (On August 15, 1945, Pétain was sentenced to death after his trial and conviction on charges of intelligence with the enemy; his "national unworthiness" was proclaimed and all his property was confiscated. But two days later General Charles de Gaulle, then head of the French government, commuted the sentence to life imprisonment because of the Marshal's age.)

On the other hand, despite Father Bruckberger's efforts to get a commutation of the death sentence, Bassompierre was executed by a firing squad at dawn on April 20, 1948, in the courtyard at the Montrouge fort.

Not even a reply was sent to the letter pleading for clemency. But the day of the execution, the Agence Française de Presse (the official news agency) published a communiqué saying, "According to information gathered from good sources, it would appear that the agitation created in recent months about events of the collaboration, both by publications and by recently formed committees, does not contribute to carrying out the effort of appeasement that the Council of the Magistrature and the President of the Republic have been undertaking in the form of important reductions of penalties." The implication was plain: Bassompierre was denied clemency because of the agitation for Pétain.

The story has a sequel, indeed the sequel *is* the story. The articles by

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Father Bruckberger (he wrote five others in Parisian newspapers) caused a storm of protest among the supporters of Pétain who during the last six months have gradually dared to come out in the open. On April 26, the Dominican wrote, "This is an odd country, in reality profoundly Christian, yet where Christians do not read the Bible. They are scandalized because I dared speak of rape. Let them read Chapter XVI of Ezekiel or the Book of Hosea, and they will see in what terms the prophets stigmatized the imposture and the shame of the chosen people. It is not naming things by their proper names that is shameful. It is that the things deserve the names." And despite the threats of the reactionary Pétainists, the Dominican once more attacked the old Marshal. "They tell me," he wrote, "that if I am against Pétain, it is because I am for Maurice Thorez. But no, it is not true, good people. Try to be sensible. The Committee of Honor for Pétain was a marvelous gift for the little comrades of Moscow."

The incident seemed to be forgotten, but only by the public—there were men in high places in Paris and in Rome who did not forget. The late summer issue of *Cheval de Troie* came out with an announcement that Father Bruckberger was being forced to abandon its editorship. Under the title, "Revenge of the Pétainists," it was revealed that the Dominican had been sent into exile by the high officials of his Order; he was instructed to go to a monastery in the Sahara in Africa to make "a retreat that will last a number of years." Still courageous, Father Bruckberger said openly, "Now I pay dearly for the clarity of my language. . . . I risked everything . . . and I lost everything. I obey my superiors, who have taken charge of my life and whose will is for me the expression of the will of God. . . . I leave for a monastery of Père de Foucauld in the desert. A Christian knows that the public life of his chief, the true one, began in the desert. The device of this magazine is the phrase of Saint Paul, 'I fought the good fight.' . . ."

LABORATORY FOR REACTION

New ways to handcuff labor are being tested in Massachusetts, and labor is fighting back at the polls in a critical election

by Claire Neikind

THE GRISLY PATTERN of bigger and better anti-labor laws for the nation may be set in Massachusetts on Election Day. Testing ground for the Taft-Hartley Act, which in turn inspired a state-by-state campaign to break labor, Massachusetts is now offering its voters three referenda which can finish the job Taft-Hartley began.

In 1946, an organization deceptively named the Massachusetts Citizens' Union sponsored a referendum on the Barnes bill, a measure that stifled normal union activity. Unprepared and phlegmatic, labor stayed at home on Election Day, and the bill became law.

In a glowing letter of eulogy, Senator Taft then wrote to Citizens' Union Secretary Charles L. Gibson: "The bill was the inspiration for the Taft-Hartley Act. . . . I have great admiration for the work of the Massachusetts Citizens' Union on issues relating to labor and management. . . . I believe your methods are the most skillful and effective I have observed anywhere."

Encouraged by its easy victory and national praise, the Citizens' Union has prepared three bills for a vote this year, numbered five, six and seven. Gibson confidently predicts it will send copies of these laws to all Representatives in Washington on November 3. Thorough to the last seam of the straitjacket, they are the kind of legislative proposals that could make any NAM member proud.

One of the bills outlaws every form of union security—union shop, closed shop, maintenance of membership *and* the check-off. It makes it a criminal offense for any union *or* employer to sign a union-security agreement, even though the employer is willing and every member of the union might vote for it.

Another of these bills almost literally requires strike votes over every grievance and every clause in union contracts. It demands a majority of *eligible* votes, instead of votes cast, to carry an issue, and makes it a *criminal* offense to strike without going through this procedure. In all the votes and elections required by the bill, a vote is counted *for* the company and *against* the union if the worker fails for any reason to attend the election.

The third bill strikes right at the heart of internal union organization, forbidding the election of city and state labor officers by the indirect method. Moreover, it requires these direct elections, which are on the local, city and state scale, to be held every year.

All these restrictions would be heaped upon those already passed—the Taft-Hartley Act, and the Barnes law, which controls union finances so completely that any official taking a taxi on expense account for union activities is required to get the name and address of the cab driver to submit to the state government.

Small wonder that these bills drew such extravagant praise from Senator Taft. And sobering to imagine them applied on a national scale, as they very well may be.

The threat to industrial peace implied in the proposed legislation has been taken seriously, not only by organized labor but by many employers and even the state government itself. The first bill was defeated unanimously by the Massachusetts state senate. It was overwhelmingly rejected by the state house of representatives by a vote of 203 to 5, and unanimously condemned by the Massachusetts Legislative Committee on Labor

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DRAWING BY CHARLES NAKATA

and Industries, which said: "To outlaw the union shop would, in the opinion of the committee, be detrimental to the public interest and to the best interests of labor and management."

Stung once, labor in Massachusetts is not eager to taste the venom again. In an unprecedented spurt of activity, the CIO, the AFL and independent unions have united, for the first time in this state, and with them the Americans for Democratic Action and the American Veterans' Committee, to drown the bills on November 2.

Aroused and organized as they are, they have no illusions that this will be a pushover. Aside from the difficulty of getting the workers to the polls and of explaining the real nature of the bills, the ballot itself will be a sore trial to the literacy of the voter.

These are not the only referenda on the ballot. There are twelve in all, necessitating a paper ballot 27 inches wide and 27 inches long. Moreover, it is not even possible simply to ask the voters to vote "No" down the line. The first referendum proposes freedom of speech, which, it is generally agreed, isn't a bad idea in Massachusetts; and the eighth referendum proposes to legalize birth control, which is an issue the labor movement here wouldn't touch with a 10-foot pole. Other referenda deal with matters like prohibition and a gasoline tax, each studded with $10 legal phrases and each concealing deep-laid traps.

Labor cannot hope to match the Citizens' Union dollar for dollar in a propaganda campaign to defeat these bills. It can win only by using its greatest hitherto untapped resource—mass membership. Last summer it set about doing this on a scale which two years ago its leaders would have believed impossible. In every industrial center of the state it has obtained the voting lists, checked them against police lists, and gone out, house-to-house and block-by-block, to get the voters registered.

It has mailed 400,000 pieces of literature, put up placards in every bus and subway, bought daily radio time on the 12 major stations in the state. Through the American Federation of Musicians and the American Federation of Radio Artists, it has put on smooth, telling programs, written songs that have clicked in the shops and over the air.

The result has been a statewide registration that has shattered all previous records. In Boston, from a top of 385,000 in 1944, registration has jumped to 405,000; in Worcester, from 100,000 to 107,000; in Fall River, from 52,000 to 60,000; in Cambridge, from 57,000 to 88,000.

These figures have caused a bad case of nerves at Republican headquarters. In an editorial that is rated by Bostonians as the prize boner of the year, the Republican Boston *Herald* said on the last day of registration: "The Democratic city of Boston has been having a record registration of new voters. The Republican cities and towns are lagging badly. . . . As clearly as registration statistics can speak, they say that the Republicans in this state are giving the Democrats the 1948 election on the silver platter of over-confidence. . . ."

Naturally, these large registration figures will have great influence on the presidential and gubernatorial vote, but interest in candidates is not primarily the reason for the increase. On labor's side the explanation is the anti-labor bills. Another force that must share the credit is the Catholic Church. Its objective is different, but its tactic in this case is the same. Determined to defeat the birth-control amendment at almost any cost, it is working desperately to get out a heavy Catholic vote in this heavily Catholic state.

Whatever the reasons for the unusually high registration, it augurs well for the defeat of bills five, six and seven. But victory for labor is by no means assured. Despite the impressive organizational work that has been done, there is vast confusion throughout the state about the real nature of these proposals. The possibility is certainly not remote that thousands of good union workers, going to the polls, may vote "yes" for something they don't want, or "no" for something they do.

Moreover, even if these referenda are defeated, the heroic struggle of Massachusetts labor will not be over. While the unions are suffering from the mental and financial exhaustion that will be the price of their victory, there is nothing to prevent the Citizens' Union from sponsoring similar legislation next year, and the year after that. Goliath has found a dandy new sword and David will need to lay in a good supply of slingshots.

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THE WALLACE YOUTH: A Communication

SIR: I am not qualified to comment, as did Rebecca West, upon the appearance of the Wallace Youth at the Progressive Party's convention, since I did not see them, but it so happens that I have lately received a few letters from some among them. These letters are distinguished by immoderate language, which is youth's privilege, but also by something else much less to be expected or condoned: they are animated by a refusal to admit the possibility of honest disagreement.

This is, it seems to me, the most serious internal damage so far done to the United States by the Wallace campaign. The boys and girls who write such letters are not content to be wholeheartedly in favor of Mr. Wallace's candidacy and blindly convinced that he is the only public figure who wants peace in the world; they must also assert that anybody who holds opposing views is evil and corrupt, "bought by the interests," or—in the case of one letter-writer—"bought by Dewey."

It is in the radical tradition, of course, to charge venality. Often there has been a basis for the charge. But the Wallace campaign has generalized the technique into a wholesale insemination of distrust which, if it carried over into ordinary life after the election temperature had subsided, would make our processes of government invariably suspect to a considerable minority of our young people. If the institutions of the state are not even entitled to the benefit of a doubt, and if those who work for the state are charged with crimes of malfeasance and corruption (as they regularly are in Wallace meetings), then what becomes of the growing citizen? Does he not develop an ill-will toward the majority, since he cannot even concede its right to be a majority?

These questions, and others like them, go beyond the specific point of the letters I have personally received. They were addressed to a writer who had attempted to show in print why, in his view, any considerable popular vote for Wallace would be dangerous to peace.

The Wallace youth not only resents the statement of such a view, but further believes (if my letters are a sample) that only bribery could have produced it, that it is therefore dishonest and corrupt. This does not matter so long as it is confined to one writer; but what goes much beyond the personal is the frame of mind shown in such letters—a frame of mind in which the "party in power" or "the interests" or "the brass" or "Wall Street" (all are mentioned) is thought to be in control of the American government and press, with a determining power over the considered opinion of a mature writer as well. The general climate of such minds is shown in Wallace meetings when certain government officers (such as Mr. Forrestal, Mr. Draper and some others) are invariably booed whenever their names are mentioned, even though nothing in particular is said of them.

Now, we all know that the mercury goes high in the thermometer during these quadrennial orgies of ours. Most men and women regain their equanimity promptly when the election is over, but can it be expected that boys and girls in the universities—most of them without a vote—can calm down so quickly? One of my correspondents is obviously a man of at least middle age; he gives me thirteen reasons for voting for Wallace, and the thirteenth of them is that there are thirteen letters in the name Henry A. Wallace. I should not expect him to cherish a grievance beyond November.

But these others who write with such passion have obviously made up their minds that Mr. Wallace is the *only* decent man in public life, the only one who wants peace, the only one who is not in the pay of evil forces. The moral indignation at the old-party system is unbounded, and pays no heed to the fact that there have been a great many useful citizens among both Democrats and Republicans—or even to the further fact that, however it happened, the party system has been and still is the armature of our democratic process and inseparable from it. I find it difficult to imagine how these boys and girls are going to get through the next four years; their fury will be difficult to contain. At least three letters I have had sound as if they had been written by people who, through sheer irritation at the pendulum, would be only too happy to smash the whole clock to pieces.

Moral superiority is a dangerous drug, above all to the young. When the Wallace campaign in general (not Mr. Wallace more than Mr. Taylor or any of the others) deliberately sets out on the assumption that those who disagree are scoundrels, the disservice to the state seems to me obvious. It will result in convincing this small section of the American youth—a minority of a minority—that the general will has no merit at all, but is a mere fabrication on the part of sinister and secret wills which control the electorate. When that conviction obtains, democracy itself goes out. If you do not believe that the people somehow or other manage to govern in spite of all the "special interests" put together, then the Lincoln and Roosevelt phenomena become meaningless, the general shape and direction of our history a mystification, and our future appears as a vertiginous descent into the darkness of the unfree.

If it would do any good, one would like to quote to these youths of the campus some words of Plato's from the *Laws*: "You are young, my son, and as the years go by, time will change and even reverse many of your present opinions. Refrain therefore awhile from setting yourself up as a judge of the highest matters."

The most useful word in the passage is "awhile."

VINCENT SHEEAN

South Pomfret, Vt.

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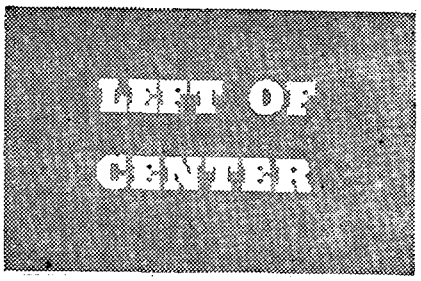

This is the second of a series reporting what is happening, throughout the country, among progressives.
—THE EDITORS

TALK OF political realignment on the Left continues. Addressing the United Hebrew Trades (AFL, CIO and independent unions), Jacob Potofsky, president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, proposed a post-November conference to discuss "revitalizing" the Democratic Party or building an independent labor party. The *Progressive* (Bob La Follette Sr.'s old magazine), in arguing for support to Norman Thomas, maintains that a big Socialist vote would "lead to the building of a strong non-Communist party of labor, liberals and Socialists following the 1948 elections."

New York's Liberal Party proposed in its 1948 platform "a unification of the labor and liberal forces in America in order to create a major political instrument in the United States based upon a principled program of domestic and international reform." A youth section of such new political force is organizationally under way, initiated in the Middle West, looking to Walter Reuther for leadership. The national executive committee of this group met in Columbus, Ohio, recently to plan for a December convention. Some feel that Wallace would like to be part of this combine and base their belief on Wallace's appeal to labor leaders not to "make statements so extreme that it will be impossible for us to get together after the elections."

The key in liberal political realignment will be the relationship with Communists. The *Progressive* quotes Bob La Follette Sr. in 1924: "To pretend that the Communists can work with the progressives who believe in democracy is deliberately to deceive the public. The Communists are antagonistic to the Progressive cause and their only purpose in joining such a movement is to disrupt it."

The CIO's war against party-line unions and councils is increasingly violent and successful. Hearings to revoke the charter of the New York CIO Council were marked by fisticuffs. The New York Newspaper Guild voted 2-to-1 in a referendum on whether to withdraw from the city CIO council. (Until a year ago, the New York Guild followed the party line religiously.)

New York State heads of the PAC issued a campaign prediction that the American Labor Party vote in New York will fall to a new low, fewer than 200,000. Mike Quill scored a major victory over party-line opponents in the Transport Workers' Union referendum on the use of the secret ballot in electing national officers. Quill says: "The rank and file will control the union, and not the Communist Party."

Curran's campaign to expel party-line leadership from the National Maritime Union (CIO) on charges of malpractice continues. The NMU even refuses to bargain with the union representing its own office workers because the union is "party-line." The International Association of Machinists (independent) expelled Robert Schrank, president of the New York State Council of Machinists, at the recent IAM convention, for failure to file the Taft-Hartley affidavit.

The schism between the "Communist" and non-Communist Left continues in organizations outside the ranks of organized labor and political parties. The American Veterans' Committee, having suspended a member because he appeared at an ALP rally for Wallace in the name of the AVC, finds that the New York Area Council and some chapters refuse to accept the national decision.

In the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the fight between Walter White and W. E. B. Du Bois has resulted in the dropping of Du Bois' contract.

Among the one-worlders, the same fight flared high for a moment when Cord Meyer of the United World Federalists publicly announced his refusal to coöperate with a new foundation on world government, headed by Stringfellow Barr, because there was suspicion that Wallace would head the new organization after November.

At the recent convention of the National Student Assembly, the organization moved to disaffiliate from the IUS (International Union of Students, with headquarters at Prague) because the world body was dominated by the Soviet bloc. A minority opposition was led by Walter Wallace, active Henry Wallace youth leader.

Even in solid party-line organizations, the same differentiation begins to shape up. In Harry Bridges' West Coast Longshoremen, James Kearny won the presidency of Local 10 over Julius Stern, Bridges' candidate. A motion before the local to condemn the arrests in New York of 12 leaders of the Communist Party in America was defeated.

★

An increasingly important factor in the ideological battles within the ranks of labor is the ACTU (Association of Catholic Trade Unionists). They are not monolithic. *Work*, published by the Catholic Labor Alliance in Chicago, is an interesting sample of some of the thinking of its followers. On page two, it quotes Toledo's Bishop Alter: "It [the church] has given public recognition to the need of government ownership or control whenever the nature of public services or the common good requires a monopoly in order to safeguard the interests of the people."

On page five, *Work* quotes Meat Cutter union head Pat Gorman as having come out "plumb and plain for the socialization of all major industries." And it adds: "Nice Going, Pat!" On page six, it quotes Archbishop Robert E. Lucey: "Some Catholics find it easier to accept the doctrines of the Blessed Trinity and the Immaculate Conception than the doctrine of a living wage."

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CHARLES BEARD: CIVILIZATION AND THE DEVILS

How the bold historian of the American people became at the end of his life a bitter feudist obsessed by private wars and personal goblins

by Max Lerner

THERE ARE better-balanced surveys of American history than Charles and Mary Beard's *The Rise of American Civilization*—surveys which are less truculent and which correct some of its more extreme judgments. I think, for example, of the masterly Morison-Commager history. But there is a special quality to the *Rise*. It made the earlier Beard books, which I discussed in last week's piece, seem like finger-exercises and notebook sketches. In what Beard himself called its "overarching conception," in its boldness, sweep and passion, in the paths of interpretation it opened for others to follow or straighten out, the book of the Beards was the most creative general history written in the American field.

I can say this even though I think I know its major weaknesses—its overvaluing of economic power, its undervaluing of the political, its clumsiness in dealing with American literary and artistic expression, its failure to see the shaping figures of American life as personalities worth study, its depersonalizing of history. Yet, as with all towering works, the fact that even its weaknesses take on grand proportions is evidence that on its positive side it is a major achievement.

What made it so? First, there was the undercurrent theme of the thrust of the economic interest in the unfolding of American civilization. However much I quarrel with Beard as a theorist of economic determinism, about which I wrote last week, I recognize how skillfully and powerfully as a historian-craftsman he makes use of the theme of economic interest, and weaves it into the large historic pattern.

In the *Rise* Beard's use of the economic theme is persuasive rather than strident. He describes the struggling colonial settlements as ventures in imperial economics and administration, but does not scant the ideological struggles. He sees the Revolution as a clash between the colonial economies and the metropolitan mother-economy, but tells it also as a moving story of a civilization struggling to be born. He retraverses his old ground of the founding and first generations of the Republic, still seeing it as a struggle between the men of property and the men of the land and the tools, but treading more lightly. He is as readable as anyone when he deals with party battles, yet he sticks to his theme of the economic origins of the parties, and he punctures the sawdust stuffing of party rhetoric with an abandon which almost makes history, in Nietzsche's phrase, a "gay science."

His Jeffersonianism is worn without too heavy blinkers. He sees that the agrarian interest of the West could generate its own imperialism and produce its own war (that of 1812). His Jacksonian Democrats are neither the canaille in muddy boots trampling the White House draperies nor saviors in coonskin caps: they are hard-headed practical politicians who formed the first "Farmer-Labor Party" in our history. His Civil War is "the Second American Revolution"—not so much a battle for freedom or a secession movement that failed, as a successful revolt of the new capitalist class of the North and West against the planters' aristocracy of the South. It follows that his Reconstruction Era is not the story of vengefulness and humiliation, but of the consequences of capitalist victory. His masters of the new business enterprise are half feudal lords, half financial conquerors—"the barons of the crag and the barons of the bag."

All of which means that Beard, himself the product of an age of economic power, was absorbed with economic power. In fact, I suspect that what attracted him most in economic determinism was not the theory of history but the accent on power. He seemed to hold with William James that the crucial differences are not between liberals and conservatives, but between the tender-minded and the tough-minded whatever their political persuasion. He read and quoted not only from liberals like Madison and doughty John Taylor of Caroline, but also such conservatives as John Adams and Hamilton, Marshall and Webster. Of the two Adams brothers of his own time, his chief interest was not in Henry, who was the better historian and theorist of history, but in Brooks, who was a curious blend of an aristocrat, an imperialist and a Populist radical—but who understood the forms of power better than his brother.

I have said that Beard overvalued economic power and depreciated the political, and in terms of over-all emphasis that is true. But a study of the *Rise* along with his thirty-odd other books will show that he was at home (when he chose to be) in such power-forms as the party machine, the lobby, the corporation, the press, clerical and secular propaganda, the mythology of national honor and the national interest, the iron fist of navalism behind the studied formalism of diplomacy. His tropisms turned him to the marching and wheeling and maneuvering of the phalanxes of power. The *Rise* was the most tough-minded history in the American field, just as Beard was the most tough-minded historian we have produced.

Along with his interest in power

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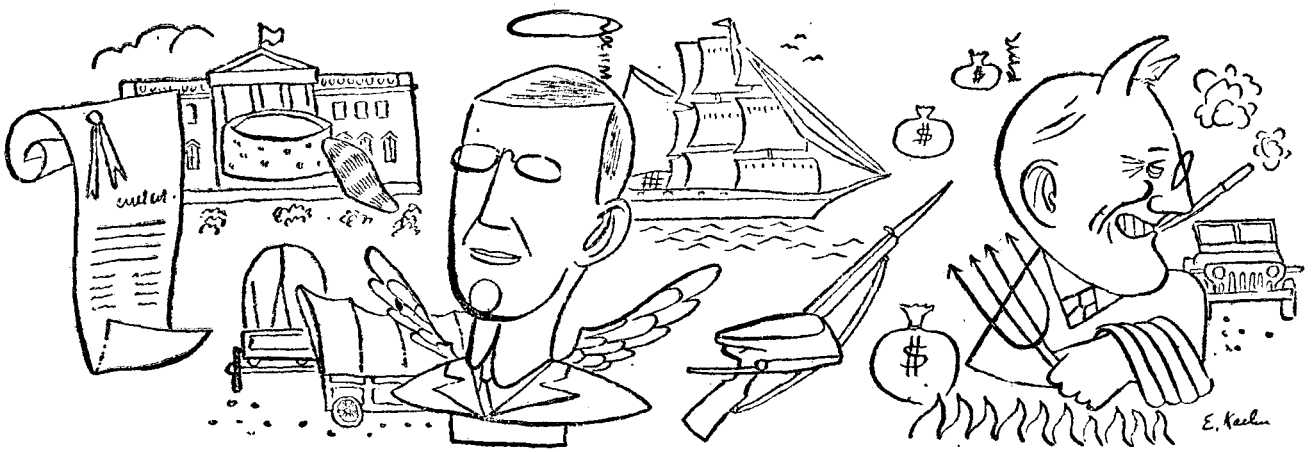
went his interest in revolutionary change and upheaval. In the pages of the *Rise* one will run across agricultural, technological, industrial, military, intellectual and social "revolutions." He used the term loosely, but he meant something by the concept. He was less interested in the slow, Darwinian process of cumulative change (as Veblen was) than in those convulsive moments of history when the social mold could no longer contain the accumulated stresses, and the mold broke.

But if you follow the signposts in Beard's Preface to the *Rise*, it is clear that he saw himself writing not the history of the American economic interest, nor the history of the forms of power in America, nor the history of the thrusts of revolutionary change, but a "cultural history." Many foolish things written about cultural history have carried the inference that before our time historians wrote only about wars and party conventions and tariffs, while only in our enlightened era have they written about sewing machines, bathtubs, popular magazines, sex, architecture, women's clubs and folk myths. The fact is that the Germans (who strongly and often badly influenced Beard) and even the Greeks wrote cultural history long before the Columbia and Harvard schools. Beard's cultural approach was less novel than he somewhat pretentiously claims in the Preface. And also less successful, considering his heavy-handedness and splay-footedness in discussing literature and the arts. (This is especially true of *America in Transition*, which covered the current decades and which Beard meant as the third volume of the *Rise*, but which really belongs to his later polemical books.) Yet the *Rise* is an impressive work of historical synthesis.

One of Beard's favorite quotations was from Buckle—that "the philosophy of any subject is not at its center, but on the periphery where it impinges on all other sciences." Following this insight, the *Rise* discusses economics, technology, law, education, social work, science, the arts, the social sciences. It is especially rich in its sections on the role of women. One may guess that here Mary Beard, who has written some provocative books of her own on woman's place in society and history, was the shaping influence in the collaboration. Beard's skill as a social scientist was useful in this work of synthesis. The man who knew how to weave references to Holmes's jurisprudence, John Bates Clark's marginal-utility economics, and Veblen's institutional economics into a chapter on the battle for social democracy, was not putting down a catalogue of names and books but was writing as an intellectual insider.

Beard's worst blind spot was in his treatment of the human personality. All his life he battled against the Great Man theory of history, and on that score one can have little quarrel with him. He hoped, in Henry Adams' phrasing, to "fix for a familiar moment a necessary sequence of human movement." But the search for historic law did not prevent Adams, in his great *History*, from getting inside the minds of the protagonists of his drama and seeing them as people. Beard is so intent on unmasking ideologies and abstracting the impersonal forces that he finally comes close to omitting the human beings. Nowhere in his books does he make a real effort to delineate even the people he most admired. Henry Adams, who had a blood feud with Jefferson, gave a full-scale portrait of him, however unflattering; Beard, an inveterate Jeffersonian, submits a brilliant analysis of Jefferson's ideas, but in his fear of making Jefferson into a Great Man he provides no analysis of the man himself. Even Lincoln, who comes off best, is treated superficially.

It is almost as if Beard did not regard people, including statesmen, as centers of personal and moral volition; as complex bundles of often contradictory impulses, plans, desires and dreams. He gives us the story of the rise of a civilization without the story of the men who helped to make—and whose personalities certainly reflected—its richness. One guesses that his impulse to unmask the appearances which veiled the reality had given him a suspicion of his historical characters, a fear of being taken in by them. And since he cannot believe them, he cannot regard them as functioning, whole persons, and therefore cannot face them. As a result, Beard's books are full of faceless men and dramatic forces. In its fear of hero worship, Beard's work becomes itself one of the depersonalized monuments to the culture of a machine age.



DRAWING BY EUGENE KARLIN

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The only heroic symbol in Beard's history is that of the American nation itself. The *Rise* conveys the greatness of the common American experience, for which in history writing there can be no substitute, however deep-cutting, sophisticated or devastating. "The history of a civilization," Beard wrote, "may symbolize a certain coming to maturity in that civilization itself." It was a good commentary on his own book. Bryce's *The American Commonwealth*, in the late 1880's, had given Americans the maturing sense of seeing the greatness of their civilization through the generous eyes of a cultivated Englishman. Forty years later, in the *Rise*, they saw the dimensions of their national history through the eyes of a hard-bitten and realistic American who, for all his critical fierceness, became more intensely America-centered as he experienced increasing disillusion with the rest of the world. Beyond the leading ideas and rich detail, there is a sense of continental grandeur and sweep in the American story, and more than a hint of an ineluctable destiny for the American people.

No flag-waver and far from an imperialist jingo, Beard nevertheless had a deep sense of cultural nationalism. "There was no doubt," he writes on his last page, "of the nature of the future in America." And he goes on to celebrate "the ability of the undistinguished masses, as contrasted with heroes and classes, to meet by reasonably competent methods the issues raised in the flow of time . . . moving from one technological triumph to another . . . conjuring, from the vasty deeps of the nameless and unknown, creative imagination of the noblest order, subduing physical things to the empire of the spirit—doubting not the capacity of the Power that had summoned into being all patterns of the past and present . . . to fulfil its endless destiny." Then followed the single, proud, sentence which forms the closing section of the book: "If so, it is the dawn, not the dusk, of the gods." Two years later the Great Depression began. In another twelve years, after Pearl Harbor, an old man sat in his study at New Milford, pondering the ways of destiny and the treachery of democratic leaders, and eating his heart out with a vindictive bitterness.

It might be an act of piety to omit Beard's isolationism from the over-all estimate I am making of his work. Yet it would also be foolish, for although Beard's greatness as a historian is intact without his foreign-policy views, the isolationism was an integral part of the man's development as a social thinker, and even invaded his history writing. I find too many critics inclined to regard *Giddy Minds and Foreign Quarrels* (1939), *A Foreign Policy for America* (1940), *American Foreign Policy in the Making* (1946), and *President Roosevelt and the Coming of the War* (1948) as acts of senescence, pitiable in a once great mind. I do not agree. Beard was a vigorous and ruthless fighter even when he was on the wrong side. And his wrongness on the isolationist issue stretches back almost thirty years, during which he did some of his best historical writing. I want to warn against this temptation to divide Beard's life into a great phase and a pathetic phase. I reject the theory of a fall from grace, and I reject the picture of an isolationist Devil possessing an otherwise innocent and virtuous man.

What happened to Beard was that, after an impassioned support of Woodrow Wilson and World War I, he became sharply disenchanted with both. He had started, as I have suggested, with the *unmasking* impulse of the satirist interested in the power realities behind the verbal appearances. For one who prided himself thus on his skill in remaining unfooled by high-flown idealism, it must have been galling to feel after 1919 that after all he *had* been had. The sense of humiliation became a rankling resolve to be revenged on his own folly.

The elements that went into his isolationism, however, were present in his thought long before his disillusionment. He always played down ideologies and played up economic interest; he always had a nativist "look homeward, angel" conviction that the great drama of world history would be enacted on the American Continent; he always suspected that Europe, "encrusted in the blood-rust of centuries," was drawing us into endless quarrels; he shared the Jeffersonian hope that if we were virtuous on our own shores we could create a New World untouched by the decay of the Old.

The Great Depression, which Beard had evidently not expected, shook him up and reinforced his conviction that the two enemies of America were the "myth of rugged individualism" and the myth of "world imagism," as he called the idealist school. The titles of the two meaty and militant volumes he published during the early New Deal years—*The Idea of National Interest* (1934) and *The Open Door at Home* (1935)—give the drift of his argument: don't trust the fuzzy imperialist slogans which throw a halo around American investments abroad; the imperialist ideal of opening foreign doors to our trade is hogwash, and the importance of foreign trade in the American economy has been inflated beyond its actual volume; the only open-door policy worth pursuing is the open door at home—that is, the creation of a larger home market for American products through conscious planning. This was autarchy, but it was also more. Beard came closest at this phase of his life to affirming as his ideal a continental economy, spaciously conceived, controlled in a common-sense way, yielding a gracious life for all without the horrors of foreign entanglements.

Take this ideal, add to it the elements of his "look homeward" thinking I have already mentioned, and fortify it with his determination to avenge himself on himself for having been once taken in by world imagism —and you get the roundness as well as the sharpness of Beard's views on foreign policy. The flaw in them lay not in the premise that Americans could achieve the society Beard had in mind, but that they could achieve it in a world vacuum. As Professor Morison has said, Beard wrote about

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FDR and Pearl Harbor as if Hitler and Hirohito had never existed, as if the world fact of fascism could be shut out of the American situation by an act of will. His abstracting mind abstracted America from the world; just as earlier it had abstracted the economic motive from the rest of the human personality. He had once unmasked the motives of the Founding Fathers; he now wrote as if all you had to do to protect America was to unmask the rhetoric of world imagism.

He went at his task with the same savage documentation that had gone into his first "determinism" book. He hauled out Roosevelt's speeches and state papers to prove that world imagism was only the mask, and that the reality was the deceptive treachery which led a people into a war while protesting it would keep them out of war. He accused the President of having deliberately risked—and even welcomed—the Pearl Harbor attack because it would plunge America into the war. Thus Beard became the leader of a sort of Revisionist school of war guilt for World War II. His Revisionism met an even colder acceptance in the 1940's than his blueprint for autarchy had met in the 1930's. With every book his wrath became shriller, narrower, more personal.

The man who had once scorned devils was now hunting them. At the time of the Nye Committee revelations, Beard based on them a warning book called *The Devil Theory of War* (1936). He dismissed as vulgar nonsense "the widespread conviction that wicked men make war—political or economic men or both." Instead, he insisted, "war is our own work," and we prepared the ground for World War I in peacetime by building up that network of trade and credit relations with Britain and other nations which we dared not risk to a German victory. But the Beard who rejected personal Devils and wicked men in 1936 brought them back a decade later into his books on World War II. It is often true that those who hold a rigidly impersonal theory of history, and try to repress the elements of personal responsibility, end by letting what they have repressed break out in a more virulent form. Beard, like some of the recent mechanical Marxists, was prone to see conspiracies (the Constitutional Conspiracy, the conspiracy in the phrasing of the Fourteenth Amendment, the World War II conspiracy) even while he was ridiculing the idea of wicked men as factors in history. And so he ended by making FDR his supreme Devil.

He had brooded too long over what seemed to him the streak of hypocrisy in Roosevelt, his grandiose rhetoric, his phony liberalism, his fuzzy and meddlesome world-imagism. The sage of New Milford became a fellow traveler of John T. Flynn. The man who had once mercilessly flayed Hearst became the darling of McCormick. Thus this rugged partisan in the long struggle against vested interests and vested ideas proved to be a Cyclops, stumbling about at the end in his cave-like retreat, roaring with injured wrath at the Odyssean wiles of the man who had betrayed both the nation and him.

Perry Miller has suggested that the tragic flaw in Beard lay in the inadequacy of his pragmatism to compass the tasks of a historian. This is a shrewd insight, but Beard's later wanderings among the German historical and political philosophers, which led him to proclaim that all written history was an "act of faith" for the historian, were scarcely the adventures of a pragmatist.

The real tragic flaw in Beard was the fact that he allowed his unmasking impulse to strip away not only the ideals with which men clothed their real interests but all values as well. There was more to Roosevelt's foreign policy than a meddling world-imagist ideal. There was the substance of the collective democratic will reluctantly having to shape a world in which it could survive. What Beard never learned and what our generation of economic realists must learn is that behind ideals and devils there are organic civilization forms.

BOOKS IN REVIEW

DEBS IN RETROSPECT

THE WRITINGS AND SPEECHES OF EUGENE V. DEBS, with an Introduction by Arthur M. Schlesinger Jr. (Hermitage Press; $4).

THE HOPE FOR international socialism seems more remote today than in many generations. Lenin's contribution—seizure of world power by an "elite" minority—stultifies the possibility of democratic rule; and Stalin's "socialism in one country" is bearing its bitter fruit today in Yugoslavia. The irony of the Soviet attack on Tito is, of course, that he is merely pursuing, by and large, the substitute for genuine international socialism propounded by Stalin some twenty years ago.

Equally, so-called democratic socialism, or Social Democracy, has reduced itself to the absurdity predicted by Marx and Engels when a British Labor Government fights with imperialist tenacity for the oil, tin and rubber of "backward" peoples.

All over the world, the so-called democratic Left has become the instrument, since the rightist parties in most cases have no mass base now, for the Bevin-Marshall axis. The situation is all too unhappily reminiscent of the tragic but foreseeable collapse of the Second International, which, as much as anything else, made possible the First World War. A final irony is that opportunism, once denounced by orthodox Marxists, finds American Communists enthusiastically supporting Henry Wallace, who could successfully argue that he is the leading theoretician and exemplar of capitalism today.

Filled with these doleful observations, I am both heartened and discouraged to read again the works of Eugene Victor Debs. Heartened, because in his thought and action Debs

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WILLIAM SHARP

embodied the highest aspirations of international democratic socialism, and it may be possible that what man has once dreamed and acted upon will some day come to pass. Discouraged, because this great dream and noble life came to so little, so that one is forced to question the theory and ideal behind the martyrdom.

Arthur M. Schlesinger Jr. has to some extent questioned these in his introduction to *The Writings and Speeches of Eugene V. Debs*. In this cool, one might say cold, appraisal Schlesinger has emphasized the staying power of capitalism, a fact no Marxist economist has, to my knowledge, explained away. He has chosen to stress, as have most other non-socialists who cannot help admiring Debs, the "Americanism" of the man, his Hoosier homeliness, his tolerance of enemies, his belief in "democracy."

The fact is, however, that Debs, only a few years after he came out of Woodstock prison, was a full-fledged Marxist revolutionary and remained so until his death. That he continued to invoke the diety, that he was often guilty of "bourgeois" sentimentality, that in his horror of war or any other form of violence he sounded very much like a pacifist, does not alter this essential fact.

Schlesinger also echoes the familiar statement that Debs's speeches and writings are beclouded with old-fashioned socialist rhetoric. After wading through the 150,000 words of this collection, one is tempted to agree. Even in the magnificent speech at Canton, Ohio, which brought him a ten-year jail sentence, Debs lapsed into the perfunction of "loyal comrades," "paying the penalty for their devotion to the working class," "these very gentry who are today wrapped up in the American flag" and "in due course of time the hour will strike."

But on thinking back it is hard to remember many more moving or effective passages in political prose than his attacks upon Theodore Roosevelt, his defense of the McNamara brothers *because* they were guilty of the crime to which they confessed, the Canton speech as a whole with the subsequent address to the jury and statement to the court, and the passages from his only unified book, *Walls and Bars*, both a great personal document and an analysis of the relation of crime to society by a scientific socialist.

Debs's ideas and style were, of course, borrowed for the most part from the socialist "classics," but when the fury was upon him he was able to kindle form and content so that his best work deserves to be included with our earliest and greatest political thinkers, and with Thoreau's "Civil Disobedience" and Mark Twain's "To the Person Sitting in Darkness." Already Debs's "remarks before the sentence was passed" have entered the American canon:

> Your Honor, years ago I recognized my kinship with all living beings, and I made up my mind that I was not one bit better than the meanest of earth. I said then, I say now, that while there is a lower class I am in it; while there is a criminal element, I am of it; while there is a soul in prison, I am not free. . . . I am prepared to receive your sentence.

Debs made no major contribution to American political theory or to socialist theory in general. His role was primarily that of publicist and politician, in the best sense of those abused words. He accepted proudly the epithet "agitator." His fight against

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the craft unionism of Gompers bore fruit many years later in the CIO. His fight against the syndicalist extremists of the IWW grew from the logic that politics and economics are indivisible, although as one of its founders he always defended the IWW against its outside enemies.

In summing up the man and his age, it is impossible for anyone who claims to be even slightly left of center to find a more impressive figure. Of his three major antagonists, Daniel De Leon is a footnote in history, and Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson are in the pantheon of national heroes with legends building about them. The figure of Debs and the burden of his thought have survived the perspective of years.

GEORGE MAYBERRY

THE GERMAN DEMON

DOCTOR FAUSTUS, by Thomas Mann. Translated by H. T. Lowe-Porter (Alfred A. Knopf; $3.50).

THIS NOVEL pretends to be a biography of a celebrated composer, Adrian Leverkuhn (1885-1940). As it is supposed to have been written in Germany during the war, it is full of troubled reflections on the national character and the country's fate, and of a brooding nostalgia that recreates the university and artistic life of the medieval Bavarian cities. All those customs and traditions uniquely Germanic in a beloved sense are recalled in a tone ponderous and formal and even pedantic, but warm with a kind of *pietas*.

There is no strict parallel to the Faust legend, but Adrian Leverkuhn is a scholar and musician who accepts the idea of his predestined damnation as the price of musical genius and acclaim. While still a student, he chooses the study of theology as a profession: "he had made the choice out of arrogance." This arrogance is a stressed characteristic throughout the book. It is at the same time an attractive power in his personality, an instinct of repulsion toward human relations, a necessary component of his genius, and the fatal flaw of his character. It is in this sense that a bargain is made, that his success is bought at the price of his destruction, because the two are inextricably mixed in his person.

Arrogance decides for Adrian that "freedom is the freedom to sin." Since God could not give us free will and at the same time make us perfect, the exercise of will, argued the student, is the decision to sin. Protected by "the armor of purity, chastity," which is at the same time the armor of "intellectual pride, cool irony," he deliberately seeks out a diseased prostitute. For "the proudest intellectuality stands in the most immediate relation of all to the animal, to naked instinct, and is given over most shamlessly to it." But "what madness, what deliberate, reckless tempting of God" compelled Adrian to this risk, the narrator inquires, unless it was "the compulsion to comprise the punishment in the sin." At one time he asserts his prideful will and secures his fall. The disease which takes hold of him becomes simultaneously the Devil, his dominion, and his exacted price.

By this time Adrian has decided on a career of music, for "through liturgy and her history music plays very strongly into the theological." In the same way the various themes of the novel play into one another. "Theology by its various nature tends and under given circumstances always will tend to become dæmonology." Adrian makes a pact with his Devil, his "creative, genius-giving disease" for "a whole houreglass full of diveltime, genius time." This conscious alliance with a demon in the blood is in turn connected with an attribution of genius to demonic powers. "The artist is the brother of the criminal and the madman." And inspiration "comes but from the divel, the true master and giver of such rapture." But the isolation of genius is inherent in "such rapture," so that the curse, "Love is forbidden you insofar as it warms," is in a literal sense a *condition* of the gift, as well as a natural trait of Adrian's character.

The point of this is that the Faust legend is not invoked merely as a framework for the novel or introduced as an allegory. It is a poetic image, an extension of other themes and at times indistinguishable from them, which reinforces the character and history of the hero as a study of creative genius.

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Since the book is written as recollection ("This is no novel" is a recurring hint), it proceeds by puzzled inquiry, description and discursive scholarship; determining action and supporting character are at a minimum. The effect is to overweight the interest of the first part of the book. After the background is worked in and the various themes introduced and intellectually balanced, the narrative fails to use them and seems merely to *argue* them. JOHN FARRELLY

Crime and Punishment

And Be a Villain, by Rex Stout (Viking; $2.50). Nero Wolfe and Archie Goodwin find themselves pitted against a toughie in the slaying—on the air—of the editor of a racing tip sheet. The VIP's involved include radio's finest, ranging from the glamorous star of the show down to the sponsor and the advertising-agency executives. Wolfe's old college try to make the New York police do his job for him fails, and he finally bestirs himself enough to come up with the murderer. Fast and funny.

Run to Death, by Patrick Quentin (Simon and Schuster; $2). Peter Duluth, viewing the ruins of Chichén-Itza, makes an almost suicidal gambit when he allows his sympathy for a terror-ridden, beautiful young girl to involve him in her dangerous (thorium, first cousin to uranium) secret. And both the charming Mexican boy who trails him everywhere and the glamorous Russian ballet dancer add to his troubles. How Peter comes through provides an exciting and fairly hilarious evening.

Vacation Roundup. Best buys of the late summer include *The Trouble with Murder*, by Roger Bax (Harper; $2.50); *Testimony by Silence*, by Doris Miles Disney (Crime Club; $2); *The Room Upstairs*, by Mildred Davis (Simon and Schuster; $2); and *Silence for the Murderer*, by Freeman Wills Croft (Dodd, Mead; $2.50). The Disney item is a fairly persuasive treatment of the famous British murder case used by Joseph Shearing in her recent *So Evil My Love*. Shelly Smith's *The Woman in the Sea* (Harper; $2.50) is based on another British *cause célèbre*, the Rattenbury-Stoner Case, but the the trappings of fiction contribute little to this stark and pitiful story. E. H.

THEATRE: Sex Life

"PRIVATE LIVES," a sketch with overtones from well-to-do, homosexual Bohemia, masquerades as a marital comedy. It is the kind of play that, as the frayed end of the twenties began to merge with the depression of the thirties, was considered the apogee of effervescent sophistication. Facile and sharp in the contemptuous Mayfair manner modeled by Noel Coward, it is an actors' play to which Gertrude Lawrence and the author brought the perfect tone of combined theatrical scampishness and snobbish high life.

Tallulah Bankhead, who plays the Gertrude Lawrence part in the revival, is an actress of uncommon power. Her vitality now has a slight benzedrine flavor, but there is no questioning the vivid impression she makes. She is also lustrous with the glamor of that wonderful time when theatre connoted something gay, imaginative, disturbing and sinful. Her wit is malicious and electric. As a personality, Bankhead is phenomenal; as a performer, she is a true professional.

I found Miss Bankhead's performance in "Private Lives" painfully obscene. It is aggressively lacking in charm. Its spirit is snarling, derisive, self-destructive; a sacrilege against sex. Miss Bankhead has become a victim of her legend. She imitates Tallulah. She throws herself away—as if experimenting in how far she dare go. Her adorers seem bent on abetting this self-massacre. If you tell me audiences are

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wild about her performance I can only reply with Bernard Shaw, "It is the business of the dramatic critic to educate these dunces, not to echo them."

"Love Life" is an educated musical. Without being exactly pretentious about it, it is an intellectual, philosophical, historical show, exposing the deterioration of American marital relations from 1791 to 1948. Vaudeville numbers of every sort, serving as a choral commentary to the enacted episodes, liven the proceedings with songs about Progress and the inroads of economics on love.

Boris Aronson's sets are fluent, diverse, suggestive, witty and, above all, unhackneyed. Aronson, one of the three or four genuinely distinguished designers of our stage, makes each of his *décors* solve some special theatrical problem he has set himself. There is, therefore, always something fresh in his efforts, though, like most creative talents, he works more unevenly than do the mediocrities. He has done his job in "Love Life" with notable success. . . . No less delightful are Lucinda Ballard's costumes, which leap and glow with bright spirit. . . . The principals are the sturdy and stentorian Ray Middleton, who looks like Walter Huston at the age of thirty-five, and Nanette Fabray, always genial and winning—particularly in the song called "Mr. Right." "Green Up Time" is a nice tune with fresh choreography by Michael Kidd. Etc. Etc.

Despite these assets and the credit deserved by any musical that attempts to be "different," "Love Life" left me a little cold and even weary. Its multiple ingenuity is overstrenuous. It is a gesture without substance; juiceless at its core. It does not seem to spring out of any human source except the resolution to be up-to-date, intelligent and successful. It has ability, but little love.

About "Where's Charley?," the musical based on "Charley's Aunt," I can only say that if you have ever seen Ray Bolger you will want to see him again; if you've never seen him—see him now. "Where's Charley?" is by no means his best vehicle, but even his third-best is the real stuff. Ray Bolger is a performer in the grand line of American players. If we had a real theatre or even a group of solid producing organizations, as in the days from Augustin Daly to Charles Dillingham, special shows would be prepared every season to display the range of Bolger's gifts.

Bolger is the zany drummer of the American small town. He is a kind of hanger-on at the village drug store, possessed of an eccentric, hayseed grace that is akin to genius. This hatchet-faced young man, whose mask is either very dumb or very cunning, suddenly transforms into a benevolently demonic scarecrow in fantastic flight over fields, changes again into a brilliantly lyric Broadway smart aleck. He finally transcends all provincialism so that something is evoked which is like the spirit of pure dance as it exists in the soul of even the most loutish among us. To watch him at work is to have a clean and beautiful experience in the theatre. With Bolger is sweet Allyn McLerie, whose eyes are blue and whose body is a blessing.

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RADIO: Thanks to Hooper

CONSCIOUS of his duty to report the most vital matters promptly, your reporter came near stretching departmental deadline in his eagerness to flash the latest intelligence on Fred Allen's war against "Stop the Music." I am sorry to confess that the evidence gathered thus far by the House of Hooper is inconclusive. The latest survey is based on telephone calls made when Allen was launching his first aerial attack, employing not only ridicule and fresh showmanship but also his own $5,000 insurance giveaway in the offensive against the musical bearer of gifts. In this initial sampling, "Stop the Music" landed in Hooper's No. 14 place with a rating of 14.6, against Allen's pitiful placement of No. 21 with a rating 12.2. But Allen's an old campaigner, and the season is young.

Hooper's first October report (he makes two a month) listed one speech apiece by two of the major candidates, Henry A. Wallace and President Truman. Both had spoken over NBC, the first for 15 minutes on a Monday night, the second for a half-hour on a Wednesday night. Both followed sponsored network shows, but Wallace came after a comparatively low-rated (5.3) musical, the "Contented Program," while the Democratic chief followed one of the more popular situation comedies, "Duffy's Tavern." The score: Wallace, 2.9; Truman, 8.2.

Dewey had not been on the air during that rating period, so I went back

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to the month of September. I found that the Governor had spoken on a Monday night, using CBS right after "Lux Radio Theatre," which pulls a large audience and hasn't missed placing among Hooper's First Fifteen in all the years it has been on the air. Dewey further bolstered himself with another network, broadcasting simultaneously over Mutual. His average rating on both networks was 12.7.

Do these ratings show comparative support among the voters? I am not at all sure that they do, even if the ballots should stack up in more or less similar ratio. I do think they indicate that, in political programming as in any other type on the air, it is important to know whom you follow or precede. Radio calls that *adjacency*.

All three of the parties backing the major candidates this year are spending relatively heavy sums for radio. Figures at this time are available only for expenditures for time on national networks, excluding local and regional broadcasts; and some of these figures are estimates. They compare as follows: Republicans, $330,000; Progressives, $200,000; Democrats, $250,000. The Progressive figure is for the entire campaign, the others have earmarked additional sums for the last two or three weeks. According to Democratic estimates, the party's radio expenditure may total between $600,000 and $750,000.

Has political oratory on the radio helped change *your* mind for or against any party or candidate? There are some professionals in the opinion-sampling field who hold that even a presidential aspirant's personal appearance at a rally does nothing more than attract those people who are already for him. If that's true of an appearance in person, it is certainly true of a performance over the radio, but the political broadcast is now as important a part of election technique as is the mass meeting.

For sixteen years, Winchell has been broadcasting Sunday nights, same time, same network, same sponsor. I asked Winchell a few years ago whether Jergen's would object if he took a stand on a certain issue on his Sunday-night broadcast. "No," he assured me, "they don't care what I say —as long as I sell that white stuff for them." I believed him, but I would have changed the emphasis. He underscored the *what*; the emphasis belonged on *I*. Jergen's was paying $7,500 a week for Winchell, and what he said was his business because he made it good business.

Winchell and Jergen's have parted. He wanted more money than the law of diminishing returns would permit the "white stuff" entrepreneurs to risk. ABC bought Winchell with $1 million a year for 45 weeks' work. Beginning January 2, the network has rented him to Kaiser-Frazer.

The Hooper people have just issued a special report, "The Winchell Story." This document was compiled on the basis of a telephone survey made last January and February, the two months of the year when the most radio sets are tuned to transmitters—for good or evil. The figures show that Winchell was entering 5,270,000 homes those cold winter nights. More than two-thirds of those homes had families of between three and five persons.

Only 7.8 percent of Winchell's listeners were farmers, but 37.6 percent of them were skilled workers, 33.5 percent were in the "professional managerial" class (including proprietors of business and industry, managers, officials, etc.) and 21.1 percent were unskilled workers.

The biggest share of Winchell's audience (45.7 percent) tuned in after listening to Fred Allen on NBC, and most of them (58.4 percent) wasted their time by staying on for the Louella Parsons broadcast.

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in Hooper's special Winchell compilation. But I'll give you only one more. Sponsor identification was sky-high—72.6 percent. The Jergen people knew what they were doing when they let Winchell sell himself. Winchell is currently atop the Hooper heap with a rating of 21.4. CBS's Edward R. Murrow's place is No. 73, with a rating of 7.1.

SAUL CARSON

MOVIES: Unbelievable

READERS of Cornell Woolrich's novel, *Night Has a Thousand Eyes*, were disappointed and annoyed by a story that seemed to be a strikingly ingenious detective conundrum, but in the end ducked a solution by admitting the reality of second sight. It looked as if the author had posed a riddle so tough that he was baffled by it himself; if he had a more serious purpose than mystification, it was not evident in his tone or material.

The same note of frustrated crime deduction is carried over into the Edward G. Robinson film made from the book, and the only criticism to be made of the producers, therefore, is that they took up the book in the first place. The picture seems always on the verge of exposing the plot behind Robinson's crystal gazing, but it admits finally that he really did hear celestial music. The tune, by the way, is very like the one that drifted ashore to Mr. Peabody when his mermaid was swimming in the neighborhood. The supernatural crowd must patronize the same juke box. Robinson makes a credible warlock, but it's a foolish way for him to waste his talent.

The purpose of "Walk a Crooked Mile" is to convince the public that its most precious possession, atomic fission, is being threatened daily by fanatic Russian agents who will torture and murder anyone acquainted with the sacred formula or who tries to prevent them from stealing it. The foreword says in so many words that the FBI spends its energies these days frustrating the ambitions of this criminally insane gentry; it does not claim any of them have been thus far unmasked, but the subsequent melodrama makes it clear that they abound.

Unlike "The Iron Curtain," its predecessor, "Walk a Crooked Mile" offers no court evidence. If Russian agents are corrupting and killing the best scientific minds in the United States, the secret has been well kept.

But let us assume that this is happening. This means our hired federal police has decided that we may not be told of the real situation, but rather should be frightened by alarming fictions into accepting whatever jurisdiction they may care to impose.

On the other hand, suppose that these ravening Stalinists are not loose in the land. Then someone is feeding us lies for his own purpose. In either case, a film like this expresses a contempt for the public that invalidates the whole concept of free democracy which Hoover's G-men claim to be so courageously guarding.

The plot details of this picture are implausible to the point of satire, and its characterizations approach the paranoia of a crank letter, but the Thomas committee has sown its fear and hatred effectively. If I had any doubt that the American people were in a dangerous frame of mind, I would be convinced by the fact that the audience does not jeer "Walk a Crooked Mile" off the screen.

"Backstreets of Paris" is a poor legacy from the late Jacques Feyder, director of "Carnival in Flanders." It stars Françoise Rosay, his wife and one of France's best actresses, in a shoddy crime story undistinguished by plot, characterization or direction. Cheaply conceived and cheaply made, it is a ground-out B picture, the sort of thing we make in this country to follow Abbott and Costello in the neighborhood houses.

ROBERT HATCH

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CORRESPONDENCE

The Right People

SIR: Many cafés in West Texas display a sign stating, "We reserve the right to refuse service to anyone."

In a discussion of what, and whom, this refers to, the proprietor of a café, myself and several others thrashed it down to this: A guy has a right to run his joint just about like he wants to. He can make a pretty decent, respectable place out of it if he caters to the right kind of trade. But to do that he has to keep out the undesirable, rowdy elements.

In other words, no drunks, bums, whores, Mexicans or Negroes allowed. That pretty well sums it up.

Funny thing about this sign, though. I have seen it in high-class coffee shops where it is taken literally on all five counts. Then I have seen it in beer joints and hash houses where a man has to be pretty damn sloppy and a woman damn slutty to get thrown out. But Mexicans and Negroes, however decent and well dressed, are barred.

The average American who sees that sign does not realize that it carries a message between the lines for Mexicans: that property rights come first, human rights second.

Midland, Tex. C. B. POOLE

Exchange

SIR: Quite by chance I found myself reading a copy of the *New Republic* the other day, and how refreshing it was to meet a bold, liberal, progressive journal from the New World.

Being an active member of the British Liberal Party . . . I would find it very interesting to correspond with one of your readers, who might be kind enough to send me copies of American newspapers and liberal publications, in exchange for British publications.

ARTHUR W. GILES

Banbury, Oxfordshire, England

Advice for November

SIR: If it hadn't become very clear to me and many others that Wallace and Taylor are the peace ticket, we would still be going to vote Socialist.

Wallace and Taylor are very much alone in their bold, common-sense, realistic, Christian recognition that we never can procure peace without being human and morally equalitarian. . . .

Four years ago Wallace was sent on a good-will mission to Russia and China by Franklin D. Roosevelt. The people, now drinking in newspaper contempt for Russia as a sink of iniquity, were in a very different mood then. It's Wallace who *hasn't thrown off*, rather than suddenly put on, friendliness to Russia. . . .

Voters: Lay lown your printed advisers and consult your Inward Light. Talk, and vote, as that core of your own heart advises. "There's that of God in every man."

Philadelphia, Pa. SARAH CLEGHORN

BANDWAGON

Witches' Brew

"Like all our other dwindling natural resources, oil is too vital to have so many cooks spoiling the broth." – *From Governor Dewey's Denver speech, as quoted in the New York* Times.

Due Process

Senator John W. Bricker, Republican of Ohio, says his policy toward officials whose loyalty is questioned is to "fire them today and ask questions tomorrow." – *UP dispatch from Kalamazoo, Michigan.*

Underprivileged

The trouble with the world is that Joseph Stalin never was a Boy Scout, Lord Hampden said in an address here today. – *AP dispatch from Harpenden, England.*

Sweets to the Sweet

The controversial British-made motion picture "Oliver Twist," the showing of which was indefinitely delayed in the United States following protests that the portrayal of the Dickensian character, Fagin, a Jew, might fan the flames of anti-Semitism, will be exhibited in the US zone of Germany, it was revealed here today. – *Special news dispatch from Berlin.*

Our readers are invited to contribute; $2 will be paid for each item used. Address Bandwagon, c/o New Republic. Please enclose the original clippings. – The Editors

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A LETTER FROM EUGENE DENNIS

Dear New Republic Reader:

Last June the joint action of many organizations and individuals, including Communists and non-Communists, temporarily blocked passage of the Mundt-Nixon police state bill.

At that time broad sections of the labor movement, scores of non-labor progressive organizations and thousands of influential individuals joined forces to defend the Bill of Rights from this legislative attempt to nullify it. They correctly saw that all people's organizations and progressive, anti-war, political groups and parties would be seriously crippled, and in time destroyed, if the Mundt-Nixon bill were enacted. These broad forces recognized that this move to outlaw the Communist Party by requiring the registration of its individual members was a fascist measure, and would further advance the process of converting our country into a Hitler-like police state.

It is to these democratic American organizations and individuals that I appeal today. The bill whose passage they blocked last summer is now being applied, de facto and unconstitutionally, by the Department of Justice, despite the fact that it did not become law.

The pattern, first revealed in Denver, is now emerging even more plainly in Ohio. Leaders of the Communist Party are being hauled before special federal grand juries, and ordered to produce the names and addresses of all Communist Party members in their districts. This is nothing more nor less than an attempt to force them to "register," although no law requiring such undemocratic policing of a political party has as yet been passed by Congress.

Moreover, five Communist leaders in Denver have been jailed for refusing to expose the entire Communist Party membership of Colorado to police persecution and to jeopardize their jobs in private industry. One of the five is the mother of three small children. All of them have been denied bail, and one has been sentenced to eighteen months in jail —with the threat of an indeterminate sentence if he continues to "refuse to talk."

Unless the American people quickly wake up to what is happening, Ohio will repeat the Denver pattern—and it will soon become the pattern for all America.

The outlawing of the Communist Party—whether it is accomplished by legislative action, through frame-up indictments, or by the unconstitutional administrative procedures employed in Denver and Ohio—always and everywhere precedes or accompanies the rise of fascism and the drive towards war.

In our country, the forces driving toward fascism and war are waiting neither for the outcome of the Reichstag fire trial of the 12 indicted members of the Communist Party National Committee, nor for the next attempt to enact a Mundt-Nixon bill. They are in effect already seeking to outlaw the Communist Party by jailing its local leadership and driving to round up all its individual members.

Under these circumstances those who saw the danger last June, and acted to avert it, cannot sit idly by.

I urge that every progressive organization, trade union, and democratic individual who was involved in the fight against the Mundt-Nixon bill now join in protesting to the President and the Attorney General against the flagrant assault against the Bill of Rights being carried out in Denver and Ohio.

What joint mass action did last June, it can do again this October. The need for action —united, militant action—is now more imperative than ever—and the Communist Party is ready and eager to join forces with all who will act to save America from the horrors of fascism and the world from the catastrophe of a new world war.

Sincerely,
EUGENE DENNIS,
General Secretary, Communist Party

MR. EUGENE DENNIS, 35 East 12th Street, New York 3, New York

- ☐ Please send me more information about the 12 indicted Communist leaders.
- ☐ Please send me information about the Communist Party.
- ☐ Enclosed is my contribution to the defense of the Communist Party, the first line of democracy's defense.

Name_____

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